

**An analysis of *The Sunday Times* and Twitter's Reporting of President Mugabe's
State visit to South Africa**

By

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Declaration

I **Jacob Israel Takura Mujokoro** declare that **An analysis of the Sunday Times and Twitter's reporting of Mugabe's State visit to South Africa 2015** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. The thesis will not be examined unless this statement has been submitted.

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ABSTRACT

Social media has taken the world by storm and keeps on evolving. This evolution poses a threat as well as an opportunity to mankind, to the livelihoods of hordes of people employed in the media industry. It also presents a unique opportunity to chart new waters. This study explores the convergence and divergence of new media and traditional media. This divergence and convergence, if properly understood, will help in understanding the future of traditional media, and thus mitigate the threats posed by the ever evolving social media and communication technologies. This study provided a test case on the legitimacy of traditional media in as much as the ‘public interest and purveyor of public opinion’ clause of the media is concerned. The media cannot afford to live by Marx doctrine of “he who owns the means of production also controls the production of ideas in that epoch’. If it is going to be a driver and custodian of democracy in a new emerging Africa, the media has a responsibility to be the voice of the voiceless. Social media plugs the gap that traditional media leaves. Thus, the two can thus complement each other, rather than compete with each other within the same space. The population in Africa is becoming younger and younger and by extension they are moving away from traditional media towards digital and social media. There is an opportunity to be seized there. This study established that the traditional media has entrenched ways of looking at news, which are normally divergent from the way that the general populace, as captured in social media does.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction and Background to Study

1.1 Introduction

This study investigates the impact of social media and citizen journalism on traditional print and broadcast media using *The Sunday Times* (South Africa)'s representation of former president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe's state visit to South Africa in April 2015 as a lens for understanding this relationship. The study compares and contrasts *The Sunday Times*'s representation of Mugabe's state visit to South Africa and the framing of the visit on Twitter. This comparison helps to generate insights into the polarised framing of the same event in institutionalised media and social media. Leticia Bode *et al* (2015: 416) describes social media as a technology mediated platform that allows people to create, share or exchange information, ideas, pictures/videos in cyber communities. Key in this definition and for the purposes of this study is the idea that users are creating and generating their own content.

The traditional assumptions on the sole and ultimate purpose of journalism have been that it is supposed to be a purveyor of information and a reflection of public opinion. One also needs to make a quick disclaimer here that, Twitter is not necessarily a reflection of public opinion as it has been accused of being an elitist platform and at the same time it is seen as a perpetuation of the digital divide between the 'information haves' and the 'information have – not's'.

Information on twitter can thus be viewed as opinions expressed in public by the public without institutional or organisational filters. While in the past it would have been difficult for institutionalised media to tap into public opinion or rather opinion expressed in public by a large aggregate of the public itself, the availability of social media has mitigated that problem. Purveying information used to be a privileged position because journalism was an exclusive enclave in terms of sourcing and dissemination of information as well as its reach and presumed credibility, giving it an almost infallible status in society. This has changed because technologies for purveying information are now widely available. Information and communication technologies have been instructive in this dynamic. The question is, how have these changes in technological advancement affected journalism? How will they transform journalism and how can journalism transform itself so that it does not become obsolete?

Another question is, will it be acceptable going forward, for institutionalised media to purvey opinions and frames that are at variance with the frames and opinion of the public as expressed via social media? If they do, whose frames and opinions will they be representing? Lots and lots of the so-called sources of news, in other words, the news makers, are now purveyors of information themselves because they have the technology to purvey information. Sources are no longer powerless spectators of the media charade where their comments and inputs are spun, angled, misrepresented and framed to suit a particular media agenda. The United States of America President, Donald Trump who uses Twitter to communicate had this to say:

The fake and fraudulent news media is working hard to convince Republicans and others I should not use social media- but remember, I won the 2016 election with interviews, speeches and social media. I had to beat fake news, and did. We will continue to win.

The first major benefit of social media as seen through citizen journalism is that journalists are being held to account for whatever they say via social media or through the traditional channels of media themselves. Digital revolution pessimist, Andrew Keen (2007) in the book, *The Cult of the Amateur: How today's Internet is killing our Culture*, reckons that traditional media is facing extinction. He further notes that the digital age is facing 'digital Darwinism', survival of the loudest and most opinionated. His most pessimistic view is that web 2.0 is 'ignorance, meets egoism, meets bad taste, meets mob rule, on steroids.'

Twitter is a flexible system that aggregates messages from a variety of sources. Steven, quoted in Hermida (2013) notes that social media is an excellent example of end-user innovation which debunks the idea of technological determinism. Twitter falls under the social networking that allows individuals to (a) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (b) articulate a list for other users with whom they share a connection and (c) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system (Boyd and Ellison, 2008). Twitter congregates the traditional mainstream media as well as members of the public who otherwise would have had no voice at all.

The choice of twitter is deliberate in the sense that both news readers and news makers tend to congregate around twitter, *twittering the news*. Shiels (2009) in Hermida (2013:16) says twitter's significance is demonstrated in an alleged request made by the United States of America's State Department for the twitter administrators to postpone routine maintenance during the Iranian election of 2009 and the subsequent election protests in order to enable Iranians to coordinate protests.

Axel Bruns and Tim Highfield (2010) in Hermida 2013,18) also allege that the United States of America's Geological Survey (USGS) now uses a twitter earthquake detector to collate information that can help in earthquake ravaged neighbourhoods. Lenhard and Fox (2009) cited in Hermida (2013:18) point out that twitter emerged as a platform to help organize and disseminate information during major events like the 2008 California wildfires, the 2008 US election, the Mumbai attacks and the Iranian election of 2009 and the subsequent election protests. Twitter has been chosen for analysis because it has been, as alleged by Farhi (2009) in Hermida, (2013) that twitter users tend to be the people who are interested in and engaged with the news. These are the same people who are likely to visit news websites than the average person.

In an article titled '*Do you Belong in Journalism*' (Liebling 1960), coined a phrase that has gained iconic status; "freedom of the media belongs to those who own one". Social media provides a unique opportunity for the masses to have access to the media. A democratic participant citizen is seen as one who is able to impart and receive information without hindrance. Social media provides this opportunity, albeit in theory. Web 2.0 affords consumers who would not ordinarily be able to access traditional media to do so. Momberg (2009), states that instead of seeing web 2.0 as a threat, one must look at it as an opportunity. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) add that the key thing about social media is that it allows the creation and exchange of user-generated content. Others argue that this supports the democratisation of knowledge and information, transforming people from content consumers to content producers, blurring the distinction between consumer and producer. Social media provides a sense of community, of the global village, transcending anything offered by traditional media.

Beckett (2008), and Goldfain and van der Merwe (2010) refer to this as random acts of journalism. The period of Robert Mugabe's state visit to South Africa witnessed citizens performing random acts of journalism through Twitter, resulting in news frames that contradicted those of the mainstream media.

The purpose of this study therefore, is to establish whether there is a convergence of frames between citizen journalism and traditional institutional journalism. The *Sunday Times* and indeed many other institutional mainstream media did not have the monopoly of framing, agenda setting and commenting on the event. On the other hand, *The Sunday Times* did not show that it was taping into public opinion as expressed via social media. At the end of the day two parallel narratives can be witnessed. One is then forced to ask if new media in the form of social media is changing traditional media and if so in what way? It is important to note at this stage that the fake news accusation is also being perpetuated by the news media themselves when they cover stories completely oblivious of the fact that citizens are where the news is happening and the news sources now have the means to perpetuate the news, unlike in the past.

It is this researcher's proposition that indeed new media and social media are changing mainstream traditional media and the frames and agenda setting of the mainstream traditional media are being challenged every day. In other words, this research proposes that new media has brought about numerous counter-discourses which are making very it difficult for the mainstream media to perpetuate ideologies their ideologies, resulting in negotiated hegemonies. Traditional media frames and agendas are continuously being challenged.

1.1 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to compare and contrast framing of news events in *The Sunday Times* (South Africa) and on Twitter during the state visit to South Africa by President Robert Mugabe in 2015. The study seeks to establish why such a difference in framing occurred in the first place. The ultimate objective is to determine the impact of social media and subsequently citizen journalism on the traditional forms of media. The exploration will lead to new theoretical pathways in relation to the traditional media-citizen journalism nexus. The relationship between traditional media and citizen journalism cannot be downplayed.

The sprouting of what is now known as fake news squarely lies on the shoulders of citizen journalism and citizen journalism can benefit and gain credibility by using some of traditional mainstream media's modus operandi. Traditional mainstream media can also not ignore citizen journalism because that is where the future lies. As populations become younger and as technological savvy, more people migrate from traditional media towards social media. There is obviously no need for a revival of the old media as we knew it but rather a charting of new territories moving together with the changing times, changing technologies and indeed the changing citizenry. What is not disputable, however, is the fact that traditional media is suffering from a decline in circulation, digital and otherwise, resulting in a drop in advertising revenue, even in digital spaces due to low readership and the emergence of a new kind of readership.

Research has shown that the new kind of reader lingers on a news item for not more than three minutes. Traditional mainstream media need to adequately embrace the opportunities availed by new media as they seek to continue to provide relevant news content.

1.2 Background of the study

Over time, there has been a gradual separation between media views and public views. As more and more people with vested interests ploughed into the media sphere, the media moved away from what can be termed as ‘public opinion’. While others have been fatalistic in predicting the demise of journalism, caution should however be exercised because there are interests in journalism which will ensure its perpetuity. This study compares and contrasts the divergent views and opinions as expressed by the mainstream media and those expressed by the public via social media. According to Deuze (2007, 141) journalism as we know it is coming to an end. New information and communication technologies have redefined the power dynamics between the erstwhile media producers and consumers as roles are being exchanged and conflated. The symbolic power expropriated by the media institutions as explained by Karl Marx that “those who own the means of production also own the production ” is associated with the availability of resources. Social media, and in particular, Twitter, constitutes the major resource for the production of ideas available to all and sundry. This means that symbolic power is being transferred from the institutionalised proprietors to the general populace.

This has implications on media economics. Crowley and Mitchell (1994) contend that the technical means of fixing and transmitting information or symbolic content as well as the skills and forms of knowledge employed in producing, transmitting and receiving it has become widespread. The monopoly on the production and diffusion of symbols has been lost. Anthony Giddens, (cited in Crowley and Mitchell 1994) notes that “social media is not just a parallel distribution platform; it is much more than that”. The media has become a central and pervasive feature of social life in South Africa, more so in the context of social media such as Twitter.

1.3 Relevance of the study

The area of information and communication technologies (ICTs) is changing rapidly. These changes are inevitably putting the economics of the media under serious scrutiny. Media economies are being rearranged, and revenue streams of traditional media are being eroded. However, this is just simply incidental to the study. Traditionally the media has been seen as the fourth estate or the watchdog that monitors powerful institutions in society. This is where the media derives its legitimacy. By exploring the interaction between social media and traditional media, one can get an insight into whether the traditional media is living up to the expectation. This study demonstrates how and the extent to which the mainstream media is impacted upon by social media. The protection given to freedom of the press in many constitutions derives from the media being a watchdog or the fourth estate. The moment the media stops being public oriented it becomes just like any other business and loses its legitimacy.

The present study demonstrates how the mainstream media is losing its legitimacy through a comparative examination of the way in which president Mugabe's state visit to South Africa in April 2015 was framed in *The Sunday Times* and on Twitter. By comparing and contrasting framing of President Mugabe's visit in *The Sunday Times* and Twitter, this study seeks to demonstrate research, by looking at the differences between the coverage of Mugabe's visit in *The Sunday Times* and public opinion as expressed through twitter, will seek to conclude that the traditional mainstream media is losing its legitimacy.

1.4 Relationship of the topic to Communication

Communication is at the core of human development. Indeed civilization itself is dependent on and owes its development to communication. At the root of communication in the modern world is journalism, which is institutionalised. Social media is at the core of citizen journalism and is creating challenges for institutionalised journalism, otherwise known as traditional media for the purpose of this study. Communication as we know it is going through a radical change because of social media. More and more people in South Africa use social media as their prime vehicle of communication. The way society is constituted has been revolutionised by social media and communication will never be the same again.

1.5 Literature Review

This section provides a context to the study through an examination of the major presidential visits to South Africa under the Jacob Zuma administration. It also provides a brief and cursory overview of the Literature Review Chapter, Chapter 2. Chronicling major state visits to South Africa during Zuma's presidency (limitation for research purposes) will reveal that the King and Queen of Norway visited on the 3rd of November 2009. Seretse Khama of Botswana followed on the 5th of October 2010. It is worth noting at this stage that none of the visits witnessed a frenzied media interest as that of Robert Mugabe. All of these fall in 'by the way' category. December 2010 heralded Rupiah Banda of Zambia, followed by Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola in the same month of the same year. In July of 2011 President Jikaya Kikwete of Tanzania also visited South Africa while Boni Yayi of Benin visited on the 24th of November 2011, for what were termed official talks. Freedom Day of 2012 coincided with Joyce Banda of Malawi visiting on what was termed a working visit. President Hifikepunye Pohamba Namibia visited in November of 2012. XI Jinping of China, Francois Hollande of France, Mahmood Abbas of Palestine as well as Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi are some of the notable visitors to South Africa. (Source <http://www.dirco.gov.za/> accessed 15 October 2015)

One can make two major observations when looking at these visits in comparison to Robert Mugabe's visit. When Jacob Zuma assumed the presidency in 2009, social media use was still new and not as widespread as when Mugabe visited five years later. Secondly, and more tellingly, the coverage of Mugabe has been frenzied since the year 2000.

This is mainly due to his oratorical powers, ability to capture the audience and his no fear on touching on sensitive subjects that most other presidents would consider undiplomatic. Peculiarly, despite the relationship and interdependence of Zimbabwe and South Africa, this was just the second state visit by Zimbabwe to South Africa since 1994. The microscope was thus very much on South Africa and Robert Mugabe. Compounding this fact, is the fact that millions of Zimbabweans have sought refuge in South Africa, for one reason or another, as a result of the stewardship of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe. This inevitably heightened the interest of both Zimbabweans and their South African hosts.

The other state visit to gain as much interest and media traction was when the Obamas came to South Africa in 2013. Obama and Mugabe can be likened because of one thing, their oratory powers and ability to capture public enthusiasm as a result. For the media, these two are gold because they provide an endless galore of soundbites and quotable quotes that can fill inches and inches of papers for days and be played on broadcast media, even for posterity. The interest in both leaders from the mainstream media was equally matched and mirrored by the interest on social media. Maybe this gives more credence to the assertion that the media might not be able to tell us what to think but are very successful and efficient in telling us what to think about.

1.6. The goals and objectives of the study

In a paper titled *Understanding Research Methodology 5: Applied and Basic Research* Hale (2011) states that applied research examines a specific set of events or circumstances with the aim of applying findings in real life situations while basic research is concerned with principles and testing of theories. The error is in assuming that basic research is theoretical and does not have practical implications. The basic premise of this research is that new media and citizen journalism have altered journalism as we knew it. This research will seek to explore if this is (a) indeed true, (b) if true, what has caused that, (c) What can be done to revive the fortunes of traditional journalism and finally (d) where does traditional journalism go from here?

1.7. Formulation of the research problem

1.7.11 Formulation of the research problem

This study is exploratory in nature. It examines the effects of new forms of media, such as social media, which have provided a boost to citizen journalism, with a particular interest to Twitter and *The Sunday Times* in relation to their framing of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe's state visit to South Africa. The study explores how new media are impacting traditional journalism.

1.7.2 Formulation of the sub problems or research questions

The study seeks to address the following key-research questions:

- How did *The Sunday Times* frame the visit of Robert Mugabe to South Africa?
- How did Twitter frame the visit of Robert Mugabe to South Africa?
- How did the two use the frames?
- What are the similarities and differences in the framing?
- Ultimately what are the effects of the said frames?

The above research questions will help in answering the following sub questions thus;

- To what extent have media users and citizens, especially in Africa and South Africa specifically been empowered by new media and in the process disempowering the traditional media institutions and structures?
- Are the traditional characteristics of journalism still intact and viable??
- Is there need for a new conception and understanding of the journalism?
- The question then is how have these changes in technological advancement affected journalism, how will they continue to change journalism and how can journalism transform itself so that it does not become obsolete?
- Another question is; will it be acceptable going forward, for institutionalised media to purvey opinions and frames that are at variance with the frames and opinions of the public as expressed via social media?
- If they do, whose frames and opinions will they be representing?

1.8. Theoretical Framework and the Proposed Methodology

18.1 Theoretical framework

By the standards of communication research in general, research into social media in particular is relatively new. New media, which has subsequently led to the development of citizen journalism is a new millennium phenomenon. However, plenty of literature has been produced in relation to social media and journalism. The main media theories informing this study are framing theory, social construction theory and the agenda setting theory. The social construction theory is concerned about how meanings are not a given but are constructed. Meanings are not obvious, but there are conscious efforts everywhere to promote one meaning at the expense of all other possible meanings. Framing theory is closely related to the idea of meaning construction, positing that all meanings are frames promoted by one side or the other to the exclusion of other valuable frames. A frame by its nature is limiting and only allows the perception of that which is in the frame. Lastly, agenda setting can be seen as a conscious attempt to frame and construct debate and also influence the direction of said debate in society.

The way news is now gathered and transmitted has been revolutionised by the Internet. Axel Bruns and Tim Highfield (2010), in their article titled, *Blogs, Twitter and Breaking News: The Producers of Citizen Journalism* contend that citizen journalism made possible by web 2.0 is not a culture of the amateur, neither is it going to overtake mainstream journalism. This has echoes of Greek Philosopher Aristotle's famous dictum 'virtue lies between two extremes'. Importantly, Bruns and Highfield (2010) identify citizen journalism as *random rants* which are *neither policed* nor engaged with by journalistic or editorial staff. This is a key argument in this study.

Bardoel and Deuze, (2001) note that the Internet is changing the profession of journalism in at least three ways. (a) The journalist can be made an intermediary, (b) More opportunities and possibilities are made available to the journalist (Quinn, 1998; Pavlik, 1999) and (c) a new form of journalism is emerging (Singer 1998). Journalism as we knew it is increasingly coming under threat as technologies make better ways available for the dissemination of information. Hansen (2015) adds that the Internet is blurring the distinction between laymen and experts, between the information rich and the information poor as well as between the public and the private.

Lasica (2003) sees the genesis of social media as a direct and determined response to the shortcomings of industrial journalism. Hansen (2015: 23) identifies these as blind spots in public awareness. It is the contention of this study that industrial journalism lost its way a long time ago and is still to find its way back. An increasingly educated and literate public was being supplied with information, viewpoints, and forums of opinion through a media that was inherently bandwidth limited. By doing an explorative comparison of Twitter and *The Sunday Times* on a thematic issue, this research seeks to shed insights into how social media is impacting on traditional journalism. Zallar (1992) in Wei Zha (2015, 54) contends gatekeeping distorts the information that ultimately finds its way to the members of the public. Through social media, citizens take it upon themselves to report on issues affecting them and which they are participating in, thereby undermining the ability of the media and other newsmakers to *frame* the events. In other instances citizen participation takes the form of citizen commentary, subverting the *agenda setting* ability of the media by providing alternative narratives to mainstream interpretations, thus subverting the *meaning construction* endeavours of the media. Herbert Gans (1980) in Bruns and Highfield (2010) says “the news may be too important to leave to the journalists alone”. Social media is ensuring the news is not left to journalists alone.

Writing in the *Working Paper for Oxford University: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism* (2009) some scholars argue that social media has influenced the way news is reported, by both newspapers and broadcasters, meaning that traditional mainstream media have lost its usual *carte blanche*, disregarding all the nominal values of the media. While the Oxford Reuters paper concentrated on the media and the citizenry working together through social media to get the story out there, this study focuses on how the citizenry, through social media is subverting the media itself and given that state of affairs, what the future holds for the traditional media.

Bruns and Highfield (2010) also introduces an interesting concept, that of curation, which refers to the gathering, organizing and online presentation of content related to a particular theme or topic. As a rule, a content curation site reproduces some of the original content and links to the full entry. Some content curation sites also provide original content, interpretation and commentary. (whatis.techtarget.com/definition/content-curation. Viewed July15, 2015). Curation has taken away a key element of journalism, *gate keeping*. Most of the information traditional journalism draws upon is already available to the public. The role of the journalist was to become curator, deciding what news is and what it is not, because there is unlimited relevant information out there that can pass as news. Social media is redefining the role of the journalist. Crucially, and of pertinent importance to this paper, as also noted by Hansen (2015, 23) the journalist, in institutionalised media organisations, was supposed to be a fair

investigator, selecting and creating narratives and then communicating it to the audience. This study argues that the journalist in today's institutionalised media has failed in this regard as he/she is motivated by other considerations other than serving the public interest.

Hansen (2015, 22) states that there is a crisis engulfing the journalistic profession especially in as far as the gate keeping role is concerned. This introduces a new concept for both traditional journalists and the random actors, that of *gate watching*. Gate-watching implies watching the gates of newsworthy organizations and newsmakers whose information is relevant to specific interests. Twitter, which is the main focus of this study, presents an open space for gate - watching and the random acts of journalism. Social media has decentralised curation: compiling, collating and curating the available information becomes a collaborative exercise.

Bruns (2008) sees Twitter as a platform for news 'produsage', a term that describes a consuming producer of cultural content, a participant who is not simply a user nor fully a producer. Hansen (2015:21) contends that the journalistic profession has been strongly challenged by an Internet based public sphere that is also devaluing older forms of credibility. Social media expert Clay Shirky says it is inevitable that 'you trade speed for accuracy' by getting updates from Twitter, but he argues that mistakes tend to be corrected quickly when other users contradict misinformation. In this way, corrections can be amplified as well as distortions.

Digital revolution and social media pessimist, Andrew Keen (2007), in the book *The Cult of the Amateur: How today's Internet is killing our Culture* reckons that "old media is facing extinction and will be replaced by Silicon Valley's hot new search engines, social media sites and video portals." Quite a bold statement, but his observations are instructive. The media as we know it will never be the same because of the digital revolution and social media. Keen notes how the erosion of advertising revenue has resulted in media companies buying social media companies to supplement their eroded incomes. He contends that what we are witnessing via the Internet is Digital Darwinism or survival of the loudest and most opinionated.

Keen (2007) laments the "blurring of lines between traditional audience and author, creator and consumer, expert and amateur." Critically, this can be seen as a downplaying of the fact that traditionally, there was no such distinction. Performer and audience were one, there was no creator and consumer of culture. Culture was organic, performer was audience and vice versa. Keen (2007) unwittingly and ironically advocated and applauded the commodification of culture. Now the said commodification and commercialisation is under threat and there is concern.

Commodified culture is under threat, culture is returning to its organic routes, owned by no one. Culture, cultural portrayal and representation is no longer the preserve of the elites.

Reece (2009b) believes, social media is here to stay and that media professionals will do well to embrace it and not wish it away. 'The Internet has become pervasive, permeating all forms of life'. This then is a wonderful opportunity to leverage other audiences who would normally not be accessible. Fairweather (2009) sees a future where social media is a common denominator in all media and all media being found in social media as well. Media organisations are in danger of being extinct if they do not evolve together with information and communication technologies. The society we are going into is a society where there is no scribe and consumer but where one becomes the other and is the other in effect. Media institutions will cease to be content creators and become curators and vetters together with the audience.

As posited by Butler (2009) in her book *Frames of War*, when something is framed there is a multiplicity of commentary that is at stake. The moment news goes through the gatekeeping process in media organisations and institutions, there is embellishment that takes place that direct interpretation in one direction and not another. Through its commentary and curation, social media is providing counter discourses. A frame seeks to contain, convey and determine what is seen. There is a call now and there have always been calls to new frames. Moniza *et al* (2015, 149) sees framing in emphasising and highlighting certain aspects of the news reportage at the expense of other valid assertions.

A conscious effort is made to direct the consumers of news in one direction and deliberately turn them from possible others. This does not always work as the concept of polysemy demonstrates. Social media is making the case for counter-discourses even stronger. As will be noted in Chapter 2 Clawson and Oxley (1997) in Moniza *et al* (2015) claim that news frames shape the understanding and opinions of issues by stressing certain features of a controversy, to the exclusion of all others, and reducing the complex issue to one or two aspects.

Nelson, Oxley and Clawson (1997) in Wei Zha (2015 54) argue public opinion is influenced when an issue is presented and represented in such a way that the news organisation decides what is not only important, but relevant as well. Tankard (1997) in Wei Zha (2015, 54) states that framing puts issues into context, which is important. This contextualisation, however, implies selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration. Lawrence (2002), cited in Wei Zha (2015) notes that media organisations derive their power from being able to decide what the important aspects are to the detriment of all else.

Tuchman (1978) in Wei Zha (2015) adds that media organisations in framing are attempting to simplify what they consider complex issues and this also help them in catering for predetermined tests and predispositions in the audience. This will become much more apparent when this examines frames normally used by the media and the ones used in Robert Mugabe's case in particular. Hansen (2015, 28) posits that the media, especially as a result of social media brought around by new information and communication technologies, has lost the power to define as well as to frame a person, to frame the debate and indeed to set the agenda. This is where Twitter becomes instructive in this paper. Whether new media such as Twitter are creating new alternative frames as well as setting new agendas remains to be seen.

Hansen (2015: 34) notes that pre Internet journalism cannot be blamed wholly for these shortcomings as they had to contend with a medium that is time and space constrained. All the divergent views cannot and could not be accommodated in this bandwidth limited media. Of necessity certain voices had to be amplified while certain others were downplayed. The problem is that this is a self-appointed role of the media to make such decisions and sometimes these are made for nefarious purposes. Wei Zha (2015: 56) concludes the framing debate by suggesting that the media's favour for negative news, events involving conflict, crisis and violent crime are evident in their frames. Iyengar, (1993) in Moniza (2015, 149) identifies what he calls episodic frames in contradistinction to thematic frames. Episodic frames depict public issues by looking at events that are specific and instances that are concrete. This study will focus on episodic event.

The game changing effect of new information and communication technologies as reflected through social media is aptly captured by Hermida (2013), in an article titled "*From TV to Twitter: How ambient news became ambient Journalism*" when he observes that the myth of ownership of news and news making is now gone. Professional journalists no longer have exclusive rights to news making. Citizens now observe, select, filter, interpret and distribute news events. Hegemony in the news is being renegotiated daily in new hitherto unimaginable ways. Rosen, cited in Hermida (2013) concludes by observing that there are no more audiences of news and other cultural products but simply people who used to be known as the audience.

Media economics and media democratisation have been irreversibly altered. Whereas in the past the journalist was the chief gatekeeper, filtering and organizing as well as interpreting information in his/her own frames, the present reality is that the journalist is now just but one man in a long queue of content creators and curators. Researchers at the University of Maryland, describe twitter as a “harbinger of futuristic technology that is likely to capture and transmit the sum total of all human experiences of the moment” (Sankaranarayanan *et al*, cited in Hermida, 2013)

Bardoel and Deuze, (2001: 91-103) are encouraged by network journalism because it is bringing back the idealistic and utopian Athens public sphere, the Greek agora. There is now effective dissemination of information to the members of the public. Network journalism encourages social integration, political participation, community and debate – an incarnation of the idealistic and utopian public sphere? This has caused problems for traditional conception and understanding of journalism, with a call to a “catholic definition”, leading Sparks (1991) to conclude that this context of the Internet must be included (cited in Bardoel *et al* (2001). Dahlgren (1996: 60) in Bardoel, Deuze, (2001 91-103) notes that journalism is carried out in specific institutional circumstances within concrete organisational settings and under particular technological conditions. The advent of cyberspace will inevitably impact on factors that shape how journalism gets done- and may well even colour how we define what journalism is.

Du Plooy, (1997:1-2) says the aim of science is to explore human experiences in ways that allows researchers to be authoritative about their findings. This is important so that science can add value to human experiences and can be of use to humankind. In the scientific study of communication, we emphasise a specific part of this reality with its constituent parts. The methodology adopted by in this study is qualitative content analysis. According to Du Plooy (1997:33), content analysis gives a deeper insight into an issue, gives the researcher room to explore an issue from the point of view of an insider.

Qualitative research, as noted by Du Plooy (1996: vi) has four main forms of enquiry, namely, field research, survey research, content analysis and experimental research. In this study content analysis will be used. Berelson describes content analysis as an objective and systematic description of the manifest content of communication (cited in Fourie (2009:5). Berger adds that say content analysis measures the amount of something, manifesting in the media, as found in a representative sample of the mass media (cited in Fourie (2009:5). Fourie (2009:7) states that content analysis allows researchers to make inferences, especially about the intention of the communicator which crucially, shapes the recipient’s interpretation. Wurtzel (1985:8-9)

posits that content analysis allows an identification and evaluation of the relationships between a number of variables (cited in Fourie, 2009). Titscher et al (2002) in Kohlbacher (2006) adds that content analysis is the longest established method of textual analysis.

The present study takes a qualitative approach. Dooley (2009) sees qualitative research as research based on observations that are analysed without statistics. Qualitative analysis is interpretive in nature.

O’leary (2004) states that:

Qualitative researchers wishing to understand populations are not looking for mere representatives. Rather their goal is often to attain the understanding that may come from the few, not the many. In other words qualitative research techniques enable a contextualised understanding of the state of things. Applicability therefore comes from lessons learnt, which are also generalisable to broader populations. This is the reason why such studies are not dependent on the numbers of representatives or the sample size but more on the researcher’s ability to argue the relativeness of any sample to a broader population.

Wimmer and Dominick (2006), note that qualitative research strives for depth rather than breadth as in quantitative research.

Babbie, contends that content analysis is basically a coding operation (Kohlbacher (2006). However, qualitative content analysis removes itself from the tradition of coding for, according to Kracae in Kohlbacher (2006) it is not by counting and measuring that patterns or wholes in texts can be demonstrated, but by showing the different possibilities of interpretation of multiple connotations. Bryman (2004) states that qualitative content analysis comprises a searching out of underlying themes in the materials being analysed (cited in Kohlbacher 2006). Mayring (2000) refers to this kind of content analysis as “an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification”. Another important element in content analysis is the system of categories. Titscher et al, (in Kohlbacher, 2006) notes that “the core and central tool of any analysis is its system of categories: every unit of analysis must be coded, that is to say, allocated to one or more categories. Categories are understood as the more or less operational definitions of variables”.

Borrowing from Mayring (cited in Kohlbacher (2006) notes that content analysis considers the following;

- Fitting the material into a model of communication: It should be determined on what part of the communication inferences shall be made, in this case it is to the text itself as well as to the potential effect of the message on the audience.
- Systematic, rule-based analysis: The material is to be analysed step by step following rules of procedure, breaking down the material into analysable units
- Categories in the centre of analysis: Text interpretation is based on categories formed on the basis of the

research questions.

- Subject-reference instead of technique: Connectivity of the unit of analysis shall be based on adaptation dependent on the subject and context under study.
- Inclusion of quantitative steps of analysis: Triangulation to argue in favour of an integration of qualitative and quantitative methods.

According to Marrying (2002) the methods and procedure consist of three different steps that can be used separately or together. These are:

- A summary that attempts to reduce the material but at the same time preserving the essential content. This is done to create manageable information in order to maintain the core value of the message. Marrying (2002) says this can be done through paraphrasing, generalisation or abstraction and reduction.
- The second step involves explication which is explaining, clarifying and annotating the material. This is done through definitions, then the material for explication is determined, followed by a narrow context analysis, and a broad context analysis.
- Finally an "explicatory paraphrase" is made of the particular portion of text and the explication is examined with reference to the total context.

18.3 Population and Sampling

Babbie, Mouton, Vorster and Prozesky, (2007:173) state that a basic principle of sampling is that a sample should be representative of the population from which it is selected and all members of a population must have an equal chance of being selected for the sample. The accessible population sample comprised of all tweets but the target population sample were the #mugabestatevisit, #zimstatevisit and #MugabeinSA. In this target population sample, a further sample was drawn to include all the #hashtags or tweets deemed relevant to the study. Some tweets had the said hashtag but not have anything relevant to the study or even relevant to the state visit itself. My unit of analysis was the specific tweets on #mugabestatevisit zimstatevisit and #MugabeinSA that will be purposively sampled.

The study focuses on the period of between 10th April and 17th April 2015. All news articles from *The Sunday Times* and the Times live page that relates to the state were analysed. These were be juxtaposed with the tweets from the same period that which used the #(hashtag) #mugabestatevisit or a variation of that. It is my belief that in relation to the state visit, the time line selected was not long enough to make it feasible to study all the material.

Content analysis was performed to identify and make inferences of citizen attitudes on the basis of their twitter messages vis a vis the attitude of *The Sunday Times* in its coverage as well. Data selection was based on a number of hashtags # identified and widely used for the event under investigation, spanning a week before the date of the visit until a week after the visit, thus covering a period of almost two weeks. The analysis of *The Sunday Times* focused on the week of the visit itself until the departure. Since *The Sunday Times* is a weekly paper, the Times live page on the Internet will also be used to gain a wider reference point as this online page is updated on a daily basis. The next chapter examines literature on the President's state visit to South Africa. This is followed by an examination of the theories which underpin this research.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research problem and study objectives and the relevance of the topic to communication as a whole. The chapter also examined literature review and theoretical framework, paying particular to the theories that guided this study. The next chapter reviews literature review linked to the study focusing mainly on media coverage of state visits to South Africa during Zuma's presidency. All the themes and aspects discussed in this chapter will be expanded on in the forthcoming chapters.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive review of literature review on the use of Twitter as well as *The Sunday Times's framing of President Robert Mugabe's visit* to South Africa in 2015. Because there is insufficient literature on state visits the bulk of the literature reviewed here focuses on social media in general and Twitter in particular. What is available are newspaper reports that invariably frame state visits in various ways across the nations.

Fourie (2009) posits that a literature review helps in the construction of a framework for the conduction of the research in order to resolve the research problem. The premise of this literature review and theoretical framework is to understand that social media and digital technology have shifted the centre of power from the producers of the means of production to the erstwhile consumers. As Agbede and Makombe (2016:40) note, 'The advent of digital technology has ushered in new ways by which citizens can challenge power...' The power of the media as an agenda setter, a framer of events as well as a modeler of behaviours is well documented. By setting their own agendas, to an extent, debating on the frames digital citizens and social producers have managed to take some power off the institutions and corporates. It is within this context that this study examines coverage of an issue in the social media and mainstream media (Agbede, 2016).

An examination of other documented state visits to South Africa is quite revealing. The first major state visit was by the King and Queen of Norway on the 3rd of November 2009 followed by Seretse Khama of Botswana on 05 October 2010. In December, 2010 Rupiah Banda of Zambia visited followed by Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola in the same month. In July of 2011 President Jikaya Kikwete of Tanzania. Boni Yayi of Benin visited on the 24th of November 2011, for what were termed official talks, not strictly a state visit. Freedom Day of 2012 coincided with Joyce Banda of Malawi visiting on what was termed a working visit. President Hifikepunye Pohamba Namibia visited in November of 2012 while XI Jinping of China, Francois Hollande of France, Mahmood Abbas of Palestine as well as Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi were some of the notable visitors. (Source <http://www.dirco.gov.za/> accessed 15 October 2015)

Juxtaposing these visits to Robert Mugabe's visit brings out two interesting observations. Firstly, the earlier state visits during the presidency of Jacob Zuma took place when social media was relatively new and so was the concept of smartphones where people could easily log into their profiles and engage. Secondly, and more tellingly, Robert Mugabe has gained some form of infamy in South Africa in since 2000 as a result of the bad treatment of white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe. Mugabe became an instant hit, a perpetual newsmaker and anything that he did was under the spotlight in the media. In addition, Mugabe's 2015 state visit was the second since the dawn democracy in South Africa, with the first coming in the time of Nelson Mandela. It should be noted however, that between these state visits were other visits did not fall in the category of state a visit.

Obama's state visit in 2013 was widely reported in the media and everyone from print media, broadcast as well as on social media was pumped up for the visit, mainly because Obama is a global leader and a leader of the so called free world. He was the first black President of the US, is charismatic, hence the widespread coverage in the local and international media. Apart from Barrack Obama, Robert Mugabe seems to be the only other state President who generated phenomenal media attention in during his state visit to South Africa. In an article titled, "*Why Robert Mugabe is on his first state visit to South Africa in 21 years*" Talk Radio 702's Africa correspondent, Jean Jacques Cornish had this to say pointed out that:

Robert Mugabe has a significant fan base in South Africa. He stood talking for an hour today! We were sweating and laughing; it was quite amazing! It's like going to see a rock star you don't like. When you see him live you realise how good he is!

Obama's visit was greeted with much excitement from both the mainstream media and the social media. This compares well with Mugabe's visit, though the latter's visit can be explained in terms of the large Zimbabwean expatriate community living in South Africa. Another important factor to consider is that it is difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint the origins of tweets in terms of their geographical location. What could be deemed as the social media reaction of South Africans or indeed people of different nationalities domiciled in South Africa could very well be coming outside of the country.

2.2 Coverage of other state visits by other presidents to South Africa

It would be doing an injustice to this research if one does not look at the coverage of the other state visits by other presidents to South Africa. A high profile visit to South Africa on a working visit (a watered down version of a state visit) was that of President Barack Obama of the United States of America in 2013. *The Mail & Guardian* of 21 June, 2013 (<http://mg.co.za/article/2013-06-21-00-obama-visit-seen-as-sign-of-sas-stature>), described the visit as "...as sign of SA's stature". The report further stated that:

Obama arrives next week on an official working visit, a toned-down version of a state visit. This is said to be another sign that America values South Africa to an extent that Obama is willing to accept an invitation on South Africa's terms.

The nuances and innuendos in these statements are evidently amiable to the idea of Obama's working visit to South Africa.

The report added that:

South Africa believes its relationship with the US is that of mutual respect. "When their secretary of state visits other countries, they meet with heads of state," said the international relations department source. "It's only in South Africa that they meet with a foreign affairs minister because they treat South Africa as a country they can engage with on an equal level.

A stark contrast emerges if this report is juxtaposed with *The Mail & Guardian's* story of 8 April 2015 headlined "Mugabe arrives in SA for first state visit in 21 years". The newspaper reported that:

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and his wife Grace stepped off Air Zimbabwe flight AZW001 at Air Force Base Waterkloof at 17.10pm. They emerged from the covered staircase leading from the plane, holding hands. Seven-year-old Miso Magenu, wearing a white dress and purple jersey, had been waiting patiently at the foot of the stairs. She clasped a bunch of Proteas and red roses which she handed to the Mugabes as they *set foot on the red carpet, which had been hastily unrolled from a luggage trolley and brushed minutes earlier.*

International Relations and Co-operation Minister, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane and Telecommunications Minister, Siyabonga Cwele were among the officials there to greet the Mugabes.

There was much kissing of cheeks, smiling, shaking of hands, and nodding of heads as the Mugabes were led through a guard of honour to a black BMW.

Mugabe, in a grey suit, *lowered himself slowly into his seat*. Grace Mugabe, in a dress with blue trim, *skipped around the car to the other side, got in and disappeared behind the tinted bulletproof glass*. They were *driven off in a convey of about 17 Mercedes-Benzes and BMWs*. (own italics) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-08-mugabe-arrives-in-sa-for-first-state-visit-in-21-years>)

accessed 24 Aug. 2016

The tone had already been set in this report. The innuendos are that of disapproval and as it alludes to ‘skipping around’, invoking images of an animal, also speaks of a carpet hastily arranged and brushed hurriedly. Was the visit unprepared for? Was it a required dilemma, which the state had to perform and get rid of perfunctorily? “Mugabe lowered himself slowly into’ the car while they were whisked away in a convoy of 17 bullet proof tinted BMWs and Mercedes Benz”. The assumption is that every state or working visit would be treated exactly the same by the South African Department of International Relations. The media will choose to highlight these aspects in one visit and not invoke it for another visit for an express purpose of heaping praise on one succinctly and derision on the other through subliminal messaging.

The Social media coverage (Twitter) revealed similar bias.

D.E.E.P @DEEPthenexthing 10 Dec 2013

The motorcade of the leader of the free world arrives at the #FNBS Stadium **#ObamaInSouthAfrica**.

Omotola Yahaya @0motola_Y 30 Jun 2013

U know this! RT @taiotits: Obama is too charming **#obamainsouthafrica** #channelstv

Lauren4SA @Lauren4SA 30 Jun 2013

Watching #Obama's speech at #UCT. Hard not to like him. **#ObamainSouthAfrica**

Nelio de Sà @NelioDeSa 30 Jun 2013

#Obama visit to #SouthAfrica the best medicine our economy could ever ask for! **#ObamainSouthAfrica**

Paula Herbst @JustPlainP 30 Jun 2013

"@BBCKarenAllen: #Airforce one has just landed in Cape Town." <- wow! Surely a sight to behold. :-)
#ObamainSouthAfrica

Thinamazulu @Thinamazulu 30 Jun 2013

<http://instagram.com/p/bJ79YRwbnw/> Man I'm so sad i missed this. What an inspiring man Prez
#ObamaInSouthAfrica

Gustav Gous @GustavGous 29 Jun 2013

I like this man Obama. Wish South Africa had an inspiring solid president like this. The 1 we had is in hospital.. #Obama **#Obamainsouthafrica**

Irene @irenexplores 29 Jun 2013

Obama is such a wise man....really paid attention....there's always something to learn if you just open your mind.. **#ObamaInSouthAfrica**

Irene @irenexplores 29 Jun 2013

Watching this **#ObamaInSouthAfrica** thing.....really loving it.....my kind of thing...

However, unlike the mainstream media, it is not love only for Obama on the twitter sphere as the following examples will prove.

#OurFlag Rich Mhute @RichardMhute 30 Jun 2013

Just to put Pres. Obama's posturing in context: **#obamainSouthAfrica** #ObamaAtUCT #OBAMAINCT
<http://blogs.dailynews.com/friendlyfire/2013/06/30/americas-shameful-treatment-mandela-lingers/> ...

0 retweets0 likes

. @okonkwo_emelie 29 Jun 2013

And how do they intend to share energy with #african countries **#ObamaInSouthAfrica** this is quite paradoxical.

Inkosazana @zimsali 29 Jun 2013

#ObamainSouthAfrica don't fe fooled....nor dupped!!!

Fathima Mahomedy @FathiMahomedy 29 Jun 2013

@khadijapatel being congratulated by Obama at UJ. Probably 1 of the least bs things he'll say. #muslimpride #girlpower
#obamainsouthafrica

Ehab بادي @Hitteen48 29 Jun 2013 Lebanon

What a pity: #Obama had the chance to change the world & become another Mandela but decided to go the Drone Way instead. **#ObamaInSouthAfrica**

Okumagba Onakome @komeistical 29 Jun 2013

Liar liar. "@Operko: Obama: We don't need energy from #Africa. Our priority is to power #Africa.
#ObamaInSouthAfrica"

The same can also be said of Robert Mugabe's visit as portrayed by citizens on Twitter. It can be argued that social media is a better representation of public opinion and public feelings, as there is very little censorship and gate-keeping compared to the mainstream media. What is however, undeniable is that in this random sample picked here, there is more love for Obama than hate. The opposite is true for Robert Mugabe as this study will demonstrate.

2.3 Press and Twitter Representations of Robert Mugabe

The relationship between Robert Mugabe and the South African press could be described as uneasy. This is not only in reference to post 1994 South Africa, but also to the South Africa of between 1980 and 1994, since Robert Mugabe took over the reins north of the border. Mugabe has been framed in the South African press as a behemoth or a leviathan. According to Leon Hartwell (2015) an independent political analyst in an article for the Southern African Peace and Security Studies Mugabe "...was the master and his subjects had to consume everything that he told them, as remains the case today... His language suggests that he remained a patronising teacher". This view characterises the framing of Mugabe in the South African media. Mugabe is thus represented as a consuming force. He is Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe is Mugabe. In the South African media there is no Zimbabwe outside Mugabe. The media could easily substitute Zimbabwe with Mugabe.

Unlike the Western or American media which usually 'follows the flag', that is to say they follow the frame of the country's foreign affairs department in reporting on foreign countries such as the war in Iraq South African media's framing is mainly influenced by ownership and control and, at times, arguably, by race. Also evident in the reports are Eurocentric frames, informed by western news values as opposed to those inspired by African values. South African media is notorious for parroting the Western media in its framing of news. The absence of social media does not mean that there was no opinion in the general population of South Africa about Robert Mugabe. Evidence of this is seen in the warm reception Mugabe received at public events he attended in South Africa, most of them being broadcast live.

Mugabe receives hero's welcome in Soweto

POLITICS / 10 Apr '15, 12:01am <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mugabe-receives-heros-welcome-in-soweto-1843238> accessed 09/06/2016

Hero's welcome for Mugabe

By ZINE GEORGE and SIPHE MACANDA on May 21, 2016 in News, Politics
<http://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/heros-welcome-for-mugabe> accessed 09/06/2016

Rousing applause' for Mugabe at Mandela memorial

2.4 Conclusion

A number of articles were published on Robert Mugabe's state visit to South Africa in the South African mainstream, alternative, print and broadcast media as well as web based newspapers. As a result of social media's insistence on hits and trending topics it was inevitable that some of the issues that received prominence were the downright outrageous. This meant that serious issues would be relegated to the periphery. This is a reflection of the dichotomy between social media and mainstream media in their coverage of issues. Parallels can also be drawn between the various coverage as carried out in different newspapers, from South Africa and beyond.

The majority of the newspapers made it a point that they indicated the age of Robert Mugabe. On its website ENCA, a 24 hour news channel led with 'Robert Mugabe, the 91-year-old Zimbabwean leader, has been in power for three decades'. Two issues become immediately apparent; not only is this Mugabe 91 years old, but he has also been holding on to power, unjustifiably, for over 30 years. It is also interesting to note that many other news outlets used wire services copy on the visit. Thomas Hartleb was used by The Mail & Guardian used a story written by Thomas Hartleb and News24, some of the most influential publications in South Africa. Readers were told how Mugabe and his wife 'skipped around the car to the other side, got in and disappeared behind the tinted bulletproof glass. They were driven off in a convoy of about 17 Mercedes-Benzes and BMWs', and all the accompanying innuendos.

Talk Radio 702's Africa correspondent Jean Jacques Cornish captured the thoughts and feelings of many in the media about President Mugabe's visit to South Africa. Wrote Cornish:

Robert Mugabe has a significant fan base in South Africa. He stood talking for an hour today! We were sweating and laughing; it was quite amazing! It's like going to see a rock star you don't like. When you see him live you realise how good he is!

One can conclude that there is a great deal of consistency in what the mainstream media have to say about Robert Mugabe. This is probably because most mainstream media in South Africa are of the liberal kind. This is why it would be instructive to look at social media as it is the nearest to alternative media in South Africa, which covers diverse of topics. Having said that, the next chapter will situate this study in a particular theoretical framework from which all the research questions and problems are tackled. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the research methodology employed in this study.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research strategy and approach used in this study. The chapter starts with a discussion of the theoretical framework upon which this research is anchored. A theoretical framework establishes the necessary foundation for the research to be placed within the frame of established theory. The main theories guiding this study are social construction theory, framing theory and agenda setting theory. Framing theory and agenda setting theory will be discussed in general before linking them up with social media frames as well as news reporting frames. As indicated in Chapter 1, it is undeniable that, research into social media is relatively new. The new millennium heralded the unprecedented rise and influx of new media, leading to the development of citizen journalism. There is, however copious amounts of literature that have been written that specifically tackle the issue of social media and journalism. This study will focus on the theories of communication journalism as well as theories linked to social media and citizen journalism.

Social construction is concerned with how meanings are not a given but assigned. Meanings are not obvious but there are conscious efforts everywhere to promote one meaning at the expense of all other possible meanings. Fourie (2007; 242) posits that the meaning construction theories claim that often we obtain our knowledge and what we believe something means is influenced by how the media define something. De Fleur and Dennis (1994) identified five stages of the meaning construction theory, which are (a) describing objects, people or situations by way of linking labels to meanings, (b) Exposure to such a label can lead one to undergo some changes in their interpretation of the meanings of the item under discussion and description.

The meaning construction theory can also work as reinforcements for already existing schemata in the reader's eye and mind. (c) The reader now extends the reach of that constructed meaning in their groups by discussing it outside of the media. This ensures that the media given meaning is given credence and stabilised. (d) The fourth stage sees the meanings becoming social convention as they are strengthened through interpersonal communication. The meanings thus, by default, become the real or only meaning of a concept, and, as in the case of the present study, of a person. (e) De Fleur and Dennis conclude by saying 'individual behaviour toward objects, situations, or events is guided by the meanings people hold for them.

In this way, the media have played an indirect but significant long-term role in shaping people's thoughts and actions'.

The key idea about the meaning construction theory is that despite the fact that a lot of people make reality of the world around them through lenses provided by the media, meanings advanced by the media are too simplistic, stereotypical, are created with a particular agenda in mind and intend to frame an event or person in one way or another.

Framing theory is closely related to the idea of meaning construction, positing that all meanings are frames, promoted by one side or the other to the exclusion of other valuable frames. A frame by its nature is limiting and only allows the perception of that which is in the frame. Lastly, agenda setting can be seen as a conscious attempt to frame and construct debate and also influence the direction of debate in society.

Chapter 1 made note of the fact that the Internet brought with it new ways of gathering and transmitting news. However, Bruns and Highfield (2010) in the paper "*Blogs, Twitter and Breaking News: The Prodisusage of Citizen Journalism*" refuse to see this as heralding a revolution but rather call for caution and recognising citizen journalism as way more than and better than amateurish purveying of information and news. They add that citizen journalism is not going to overtake mainstream journalism. What Citizen journalism is, according to the two, are *random rants* which are *neither policed* nor engaged with by journalistic or editorial staff.

Bardoel, and Deuze, (2001) note that the Internet is changing the profession of journalism in at least three ways, thus: (a) the journalist can be made an intermediary, (b) more opportunities and possibilities are made available to the journalist. (Quinn, 1998; Pavlik, 1999) and (c) a new form of journalism is appearing (Singer 1998). Journalism as we knew it is increasingly coming under threat as technologies make better ways available for the dissemination of information. Hansen (2015) contends that the Internet is blurring the distinction between laymen and expert, between the information rich and the information poor as well as between the public and the private.

Lasica (2003) argues that industrial had and has so many shortcomings such that this led to the sprouting of social media as a response and an assault on said shortcomings. This is supported by Hansen (2015: 23) who identified what he called 'blind spots' in public awareness, a spot of bother for the non-professional journalist members of society but which members of the professional body of journalism constantly overlooked. It is the contention of this study that industrial journalism lost its way a long time

ago and is still to find its way back. As more and more information became available for members of the public and knowledge grew, being received from various quarters, it became apparent that the traditional as presently constituted could not and will not meet the expectations of the populace. It was inherently bandwidth limited. Citizen journalism plugs this limitation. By doing an explorative comparison of twitter and the *Sunday Times* on a thematic issue, this study sought to shed light into the impact of social media on mainstream media. Zallar, in Wei Zha (2015, 54) contends gatekeeping distorts information that ultimately finds its way to members of the public. Through social media, citizens take it upon themselves to report on issues affecting them and which they are participating in thereby undermining the ability of the media and other newsmakers to *frame* the events. In other instances, citizen participation takes the form of citizen commentary, subverting the *agenda setting* ability of the media by providing alternative narratives to mainstream interpretations and thus, subverting *meaning construction* endeavours of the media. Herbert Gans, in Bruns and Highfield (2010) opines that “the news may be too important to leave to the journalists alone”. This shows that social media is ensuring the news is not left to journalists alone.

Scholars writing in the *Working Paper for Oxford University: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism* (Sep 2009) argue that newspapers and broadcasters’ had a way of reporting news in response to the enzyme like manner in which social media altered the media environment. Traditional media had to react to the vagaries of social media and in the process losing their usual *carte blanche*. This paper will differ from the Oxford Reuters paper in that it will concentrate on how social media is subverting mainstream traditional media while the Oxford paper concentrated on the relationship between the media and the citizenry and how they could work together to tell the story to the citizenry.

Bruns and Highfield (2010) introduce an interesting concept, that of curation which is the gathering, organizing and online presentation of content related to a particular theme or topic. As a rule, a content curation site reproduces some of the original content and links to the full entry. Some content curation sites also provide original content, interpretation and commentary. [_whatis.techtarget.com/definition/content-curation](http://whatis.techtarget.com/definition/content-curation). Viewed July15, 2015. Curation has taken away a key element of journalism, *gate keeping*. Most of the information traditional journalism draws upon is already available to the public. The role of the journalist was to become curator, deciding what is and what is, and what it is not news because there is unlimited relevant information out there that can pass as news. Social media is redefining this role of the journalist. Hansen (2015: 23) argues that the journalist in institutionalised media organisations is supposed to be a fair investigator, selecting and creating narratives and then communicating it to the audience. It is the view of this paper that the journalist in today’s institutionalised media has failed in this regard as he/she

is motivated by other motives other than serving the public interest. Hansen (2015: 22) goes on to say that there is a crisis engulfing the journalistic profession especially in as far as the gate keeping role is concerned. This introduces a new concept for both traditional journalists and the random actors, that of *gate watching*. *Gate watching* implies watching the gates of newsworthy organizations whose information is relevant to specific interests. Twitter, the focal social media in this study, presents an unprecedented open and accessible space for gate watching and random acts of journalism.

Social media has decentralised curation: compiling, collating and curating the available information becomes a collaborative exercise. Bruns (2008) views Twitter as a platform for news produsage, a term used to describe a consuming producer of cultural content, a participant who is not simply a user nor fully a producer. Hansen (2015: 21) contends that the journalist profession has been strongly challenged by an internet based public sphere that is also devaluing older forms of credibility. Social media expert Clay Shirky says it is inevitable that ‘you trade speed for accuracy’ by getting updates from Twitter, but argues that mistakes tend to be corrected quickly when other users contradict misinformation. In this way, corrections can be amplified as well as distortions.

Digital revolution and social media pessimist, Andrew Keen (2007), in the book *The Cult of the Amateur: How today's Internet is killing our Culture* reckons that “old media is facing extinction and will be replaced by Silicon Valley’s hot new search engines, social media sites and video portals.” Quite a bold statement but his observations are instructive. The media as we know it will never be the same because of the digital revolution. He further notes how the erosion of advertising revenue has resulted in media companies buying social media companies, to supplement their eroded incomes. He contends that what we are witnessing via the internet is “Digital Darwinism”, survival of the loudest and most opinionated.

Keen (2007) is worried about the “blurring of lines between traditional audience and author, creator and consumer, expert and amateur.” However, Keen seems to forget that traditionally, there was no such distinction as performer and audience were one and there was no distinction between creator and consumer of culture. Culture was organic, performer was audience and vice versa. It is people like Keen (2007) who applauded as culture was commodified and commercialised. Now this commodification and commercialisation is being reversed and they are crying foul. Culture is not a commodity and the masses are reclaiming it through social media.

According to Reece (2009b) social media is here to stay and media professionals will do well to embrace rather than wishing it away. For Reece, the Internet has become pervasive, permeating all forms of life and is a wonderful opportunity to leverage other audiences who would normally not be accessible. Fairweather (2009) contends that sooner rather than later, all media will be inextricably linked to social media and vice-versa. The distinction we make today between social media and other media will become superficial as no story will exist in isolation. The age-old separation between society and its scribes will continue to shrink. The role of media organisations will, thus inevitably change from that of content creators into curators and vetters. It is up to the media organisations to evolve or risk being extinct.

In her book *Frames of War* speaks of *framing*, Judith Butler (2009) contends that when something is framed there is a multiplicity of commentary that is at stake. When the media frames issues, they will have embellished an issue and in the process guiding interpretation. Social media is thus challenging frames in its commentary and curation. A frame seeks to contain, convey and determine what is seen. Moniza *et al* (2015, 149) says news frames refer to how certain aspects in news are highlighted and emphasized at the expense of, equally important others.

Consumers of news are thus directed towards certain aspects and the media becomes the agenda setter. Clawson and Oxley (1997) in Moniza *et al* (2015) claim that news frames shape the understanding and opinions of issues by stressing certain features of a controversy, to the exclusion of all others, and reducing the complex issue to one or two aspects. Nelson, Oaxley and Clawson (1997) in Wei Zha (2015 54) argue that framing is the process by which an issue is presented and represented by telling people what is relevant and important, thereby influencing public opinion. Tankard (1997) in Wei Zha (2015, 54) notes that a frame contextualises issues while at the same time implicitly suggesting what the issue is in the first place by a process of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration. Lawrence (2002) in Wei Zha (2015) notes that the power is in the ability to endorse certain aspects of an issue to the negligence of others, which does not mean that the neglected aspects are not important.

Tuchman(1978), cited in Wei Zha (2015) notes that the mass media purposefully frame issues in order to simplify complicated issues as well as catering to individual pre-dispositions of categorising incoming information. Hansen (2015, 28) concurs, adding that the media has lost the power to define as well as to frame a person, to frame the debate and indeed to set the agenda. Is traditional media feeling the public pulse to determine their coverage and frames? The question then is, is new media, particularly Twitter creating alternative frames as well as setting new agendas? Hansen (2015, 34) opines that pre-Internet journalism had the challenge of raising all voices in the public sphere in a narrow informational bandwidth which has now been solved by the emergence of the Internet, albeit to a limited extent, allowing

the presentation of a multitude of voices. Wei Zha (2015: 56) argues that the media's favor for negative news, events involving conflict, crisis and violent crime are evident in their frames. Iyengar (1993) in Moniza (2015, 149) identifies what he calls episodic frames in contradistinction to thematic frames. Episodic frames depict public issues by looking at events that are specific and instances that are concrete. In this study, the focus will be on episodic frames.

In the paper "*From TV to Twitter: How ambient news became ambient Journalism*" , Hermida (2013) argues that studies in participatory journalism suggest that news is no longer the exclusive preserve and jurisdiction of professional journalists but it is now being shared by citizens as they observe, select, filter, interpret and distribute news events. Hegemony in the news is being challenged everywhere via twitter. Jay Rosen, in Hermida (2013) adds that that there are no more audiences but simply people who used to be known as the audience. Needless to say that changing relationships have drastically altered the economics as well as the democratisation of the media sphere. Traditionally the journalist was the chief gatekeeper, filtering and organizing as well as interpreting information in his/her own frames. The random acts of journalism being performed by the citizens make this almost impossible now. Researchers at the University of Maryland cited describe twitter as a "harbinger of futuristic technology that is likely to capture and transmit the sum total of all human experiences of the moment" (Sankaranarayanan *et al* cited in Hermida (2013)).

Bardoel and Deuze, in *Network Journalism: Converging Competences of Media Professionals and Professionalism* (2001 91-103) notes that network journalism is reinforcing the ideal of participatory citizenship through effective dissemination of public information. Network journalism encourages social integration, political participation, community and debate. The recreation of the idealistic and utopian public sphere? This has caused problems for traditional conception and understanding of journalism, with a call to a "catholic definition", leading Sparks (1991) to conclude that this context of the Internet must be included (Bardoel *et al* (2001). Dahlgren (1996, 60) argues that journalism is carried out in specific institutional circumstances within concrete organisational settings and under particular technological conditions (cited in Bardoel, Deuze, (2001 91-103). The advent of cyberspace will inevitably impact on factors which shape how journalism gets done and may influence our understanding of journalism.

Wither to journalism?

According to Croteau, Hoynes and Milan (2012) a frame refers to the context under which the media tries to place facts and influence members of the public in understanding them. In other words, there is a co construction of news events by both the media at production and then the audience at reception. While at the surface level, framing is a simple and innocent attempt at making events intelligible after organizing them in a specific manner, it has become apparent that the framing agenda is not just used to make events intelligible, but also to manipulate audiences. A key aspect of framing is selection, which is done in order to elicit a desired interpretation in audience. There are a number of framing strategies that can be used by a producer of news content in order to achieve one agenda or the other. As demonstrated in this study, journalists are known to manipulate metaphors, images or catchphrases in an attempt to bring to the fore certain events at the expense of others.

In relation to framing, Cissel notes that

In social theory, a 'frame' consists of a schema of interpretation, collection of anecdotes, and stereotypes that individuals rely on to understand and respond to events. In communication, framing defines how news media coverage can shape mass opinion by using these specific frameworks to help guide their reader to understanding.

Quoting Entman, (1993)'s definition, O'Neill *et al* (2015) says "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation".

Croteau, Hoynes and Milan (2012) go on to say that:

News content is influenced by the fact that (a) media corporations have a profit orientation, and their ownership is heavily concentrated; (b) the media depend on advertising as their primary income source; (c) the media rely on officially approved sources and experts; and (d) powerful players are able to deliver "flak" about media content of which they disapprove.

All these factors militate against traditional mainstream forms of the media as they set the agenda and frame news in one way or the other. These inhibitions are very minimal on twitter and other forms of social media. O'Neill *et al* (2015) argues that frames are never neutral as in defining issues, they also point fingers at causes while at the same time making moral judgments and proposing solutions. The nature of articles analysed in this study demonstrate a preponderance to find conflict and assign responsibility. They also moralise and propose solutions to the problem identified as Robert Mugabe. The definition provided by Entman (1993) above is key here. News reports are framed in such a way that they select particular aspects at the expense of others, they look for conflict, cause and effect then moralise about the whole situation before proposing solutions to the problems as defined by them.

In discussing the agenda setting theory, the point of departure would be Cohen's (1963) famous statement that "news may not be successful in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (cited in Croteau, Hoynes and Milan, 2012). Journalists and the institutions they work for not only select, but also shape the news. This feeds directly into the framing schemata as well. A truism of journalism is that what is chosen to be presented as news is as important to the readers and everything else as that which is left out. In the age of Twitter and other social media platforms, agenda setting is being redefined. While in the past scholars agreed that there was a substantial correlation between media coverage and public opinion, social media is allowing the public to set their own agenda, to an extent. While the public might still accept the media agenda, they are also managing to redefine the agenda and discuss it in their own terms. To be fair, the public always had this chance and opportunity. The difference now is that it is simply documented.

This study grapples with the issue of agenda setting in relation to how the news media generally sets the agenda but also how at the same time the news media's agenda is also being set somewhere else. Does the media sometimes tap into the public agenda and run with it or it is always the media setting the agenda? It is undeniable that there are multiple influences on the media that help in the setting of the agenda, among them ownership and control, media economics and sources to mention just but a few. Herman and Chomsky (2002; 2) call this the Propaganda Model, which is seen as a combination of the government and corporate forces at work to protect their interests by perpetuating ideologies favorable to them and their hegemony. They go on to say the Propaganda Model 'traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalise dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public. These issues affect the framing of news events in traditional mainstream media while they can be somehow negated in social media with particular reference to Twitter.

There are reported instances where the mainstream traditional media has used private twitter feeds as sources for their news. This is necessitated by the simple fact that sometimes media institutions do not have the resources to send reporters across countries and continents to cover events. However, with the much more established news organisations the major reason is that when news breaks, their journalists are not there and they sometimes take a while to get there but citizens are there and are engaged in random acts of journalism. This phenomenon has given rise to fake news with some unscrupulous and imaginative 'citizen' journalists taking advantage. Wasike (2013) provides a poignant example of this when he notes how personal twitter accounts provided early reports about explosion of March 2009 in Montana, United States of America. There were no journalists on site and it was Twitter that broke the story.

Citizens included descriptions and photos of the scene and a number of media organisations used these for their newsreels while waiting for their journalists to get to the scene. Other organisations went as far as directing their viewers to the said tweeter feeds for further updates in the meantime. It is instances like this that made citizen journalism and social media gain widespread acceptance and legitimacy as purveyors of news. However, these gains have since been reversed, due to little or no regulation on citizen journalism, particularly Twitter, giving rise to the phenomenon of fake news. It is ironic that the decline in the readership of traditional mainstream media news and the rise in social media citizen news production has been attributed to distrust of mainstream media, particularly in relation to Herman and Chomsky (2002)'s Propaganda model. The failings of traditional mainstream media are now more very prevalent in social media news production.

The Arab spring of 2011 witnessed a boom in the reliance of both general members of the public and institutional news producers on social media. Coming in a region widely known for authoritarianism and limited space for private media players, there was a premium placed on those who had social media accounts and able to give live daily updates of events. In South Africa, an *Eye Witness News* (EWN) reporter Barry Bateman gained fame from as far afield as the United States of America for his twitter coverage of the Oscar Pistorius murder case. His twitter followers bumped from a few tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands within a few days as people sought real time updates on the trial.

Wasike (2013) notes that while mainstream media news coverage places emphasis on economic and conflict frames, with readers interested in political, economic and disaster news, social media, particularly Twitter shows a particular bias towards human interest stories. This will immediately alter the frames that are used in order to make these events intelligible. One will find that most frames in human interest stories are modelled around sympathy towards a specific victim in relation to actions of a specific villain. This greatly impacts how the coverage of Robert Mugabe on twitter is decisively different to his coverage in traditional mainstream media.

Reporting on the Occupy Wall Street movement, Cissel (2012) concluded that the portrayal of the movement differed greatly depending on the source. While mass media framed the movement as lacklustre, dismissive and confusing, alternative news emphasized the strength and diversity of its protesters and demonstrations. The results may have far-reaching implications and raise further questions about the mode of communication people depend on to receive their news. This kind of framing and dichotomy is becoming more and more prevalent in mainstream versus alternative sources of news. The distance between the mainstream media, which is supposed to be the watchdog or the fourth estate, and the alternative sources of media, specifically Twitter is becoming more and more pronounced.

Vested interests are becoming more apparent as the mainstream is now running away from representing the publics from where they actually derive their legitimacy.

In a bid to set the agenda for society, mainstream media institutions, in this case, *The Sunday Times*, frame media events in a way that limits the interpretation open to such events. By examining media framing theory and applying this in an analysis of mainstream and alternative media sources several trends emerge. These trends highlight how news sources are able to influence public perception. While framing news is almost impossible to avoid, it's the motive behind the frames that warrants further research. Sutherland *et al* (2016,3) posit that information and news media offer a superfluous and fleeting assessment, overly simplified and distorted account of news. The nature, extent and seriousness of a problem is thus lost. This is problematic because, as Sutherland *et al* (2016) note, public perceptions are influenced by news stories. This affects how society understands and reacts to problems. With this in mind, this study investigates the collision or lack thereof, between social media news values and frames as well as traditional media values and frames.

The study sought to compare and contrast *The Sunday Times*' and Twitter of President Mugabe's state visit to South Africa in terms whether they are event based or thematic, sensational in approach, do they seek to perpetuate common myths and understandings or they seek to break new ground. Tiegreen and Newman (2008) contend that journalists make choices, and in this instance all writers, including those on social media, decide what to include and emphasize the sources to use as well as deciding on what is actually the issue at stake. Tiegreen and Newman (2008) state that news frames fall into two categories, namely episodic or thematic. This dovetails with Moniza's (2015)'s classification of frames who notes that the first frame that one notices is the lack or absence of context. Blood, Putnis and Pirkis (2002) (cited in Tiegreen and Newman, 2008) note that news stories are interested in salient and provocative aspects of an event while at the same time ignoring patterns and risk factors in particular events. There will be no context, not enough diverse sources and no statistical information to back up claims and 'facts'. The second frame, as identified by the Pew Research Centre (1998) is the inverted pyramid narrative frame, also known as the straight news account.

Another frame is the conflict story. This frame advances the winners and losers narrative, in search of wrong doers. The fourth narrative is what can be identified as the Newsroom frame. This is a frame motivated by news organisations' decisions on how they report on certain issues. Increasingly news media are coming up with an interpretive frame in their reporting. This is when they 'report' but are in actual fact analysing and interpreting phenomenon.

Also evident in news story frames are consensus frames which seek to emphasise on the points of agreement, as a result looking at an issue with taken for granted facts approach. There are also policy frameworks, where the reports focus on looking at and interpreting policies and their possible impact, followed by what is known as the reality check frame, which looks at veracity of claims made. There are many more frames, but for the purposes of the present study the above will suffice.

The agenda setting theory states that the news media have a large influence on audiences. News companies and journalists have the ability to dictate what stories are considered newsworthy and how much prominence and space they are allocated. Coupling this theory with framing, researchers have been able to study the influence of mass media in the formation of public opinion. With an understanding of these theories, it becomes apparent that media sources with economic support and influence could have an effect on the opinions of their readers. The choice of words used in a news article creates a vehicle for persuasion that has the opportunity to form stereotypes and generalizations among the minds of its readers.

By their very nature, mainstream media such as *The Sunday Times* are dominant and a lot of people defer to them to make sense of the world around them. By dictating what the public reads and ultimately perceives as the truth (Cissel, 2012) *The Sunday Times* is deemed the harbinger of truth. This is problematic when frames in *The Sunday Times* are juxtaposed to the frames on Twitter and a clear departure is seen on the opinions of the two, with *The Sunday Times*, purportedly a reporter of public opinion. In this regard, Boczkowski (2010), (cited by Olteanu *et al*, 2015) states that “There is a well-documented difference between what news journalists select to publish and what their readers consume and share”. This dovetails well with what Hermida *et al* (2012) says about readers filtering their news preferences through a reliance on their social entourage.

There are a number of frames that have been identified to be almost universal in traditional mainstream media news coverage. These frames will form the basis of categories used to discuss *The Sunday Times* and twitter coverage. Wasike (2013) identified the following frames; firstly, conflict frame, which portrays an adversarial relationship between different protagonists and antagonists in the story. Ironically ‘the people’ are always portrayed as the victims while there is always a leviathan character who is the main focus of the story and the antagonist. Secondly, the human-interest frame, which seeks to emotionalise the news. This is followed by the economic impact frame, whose aim is to assess the economic impact of certain decisions or policies. The responsibility frame seeks to establish a cause and effect paradigm, a causal relationship between certain behaviors and certain results. The final frame is the morality frame which gives religious and moral implications to the events discussed in the piece.

This is followed by a proposal of solutions. Moeller (1999) identifies a formulaic coverage of issues, sensationalized language as well as analogies, metaphors and images as contributing to the frames and how they are constructed. There other frames that are specific to various issues will not be discussed here.

3.2 Content Analysis: Towards a working definition

Informed by the research goals and objectives, this study is a qualitative content analysis. Why qualitative content analysis? Du Plooy (1997:33), says qualitative content analysis gives a deeper insight into an issue, gives the researcher room to explore an issue from the point of view of an insider. Guided by Fourie (2009:5) who describes content analysis as an objective and systematic description of the manifest content of communication, the researcher employed both quantitative and qualitative aspects of content analysis in the present study.

Mayring (2014) views qualitative content analysis as a mixed method approach embedding both qualitative and quantitative approaches to analysis. In the book, *Qualitative Content Analysis: Theoretical Foundation, Basic Procedures and Software Solution*_Mayring (2014:7) states that:

The hermeneutical position, embedded within a constructivist theory, tries to understand the meaning of the text as interaction between the preconceptions of the reader and the intentions of the text producer.

This is key because it appreciates the importance of not only the producer of messages, but also the receiver of messages in the production of meaning.

Mayring (2014:8) argues that:

Positivist approach claims objectivity from a position of measuring, recording and quantifying obvious aspects of the text. Detection is automatic and statistical analysis of frequency is possible.

This study combined qualitative and quantitative content analysis in order to yield the best possible results. The assignment of categories to text is regarded as qualitative while the analysis of the frequencies of categories is quantitative. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) define a research method as the subjective interpretation of the text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns". Elo and Kyngäs (2007) (citing Cole, 1988) state that content analysis is a method of analysing written, verbal or visual communication messages. Mayring (2014) adds that content analysis has been developed within communication science to analyse huge textual corpuses, like newspapers, and in this

case social media as well. Its genesis can be seen in an attempt to discover public opinion in a time where mass communication, (radio and newspapers) were gaining widespread currency.

3.3 Limitations of the Research

It is indisputable that the effectiveness and quality of qualitative research, unlike its quantitative counterpart, is heavily reliant on the skills and abilities of the researcher. Qualitative content analysis relies heavily on the researcher's interpretations and value laden judgements. To get a proper understanding and appreciation of the research design, it is imperative to revisit the research questions and sub questions. This research is an exploratory research on the impact social media on mainstream media. The study explores how new media affect traditional journalism as well as the where to from here aspect of the research by looking at the said case study. This research is limited to just a few hashtags #, which are #Mugabestatevisit #Mugabeinsouthafrica, #Mugabeinsa. It is indisputable that there are other opinions out there, indeed other #hashtags that might have fallen outside the radar. These are not in the sample but that does not take away their validity. It is proof to the fact that not everything can be sampled and used in the unit of analysis. This research does not make use of broadcast media which has valid material that could also have been used in this analysis.

3.4 Formulation of the sub problems or research questions

1. How did the *Sunday Times* frame Robert Mugabe's April 2015 state visit to South Africa?
2. How did Twitter frame the same event?
3. How did the two use the frames?
4. What are the similarities and differences in their framing of the state visit?
5. Ultimately, what are the effects of the said frames?

These research questions will help in answering some of the sub problems and sub questions such as;

1. To what extent were media users and citizens, especially in Africa and South Africa empowered by new media and in the process disempowering the traditional media institutions and structures?
2. Are the traditional characteristics of journalism still intact and viable?
3. Is there need for a new conception and understanding of the journalism?
4. How did these changes in technological advancement affect journalism?
5. How will they continue to change journalism and how can journalism transform itself so that it does not become obsolete?

6 Is will it be acceptable going forward, for institutionalised media to purvey opinions and frames that are at variance to the frames and opinion of the public as expressed via social media? If they do, whose frames and opinions will they be representing?

These questions can only be answered through a thorough, complete and detailed analysis of the nuances inherent in the messages posted on social media as well as the *Sunday Times*. The interpretation of the nuances and innuendos in the text were based on categories formed on the basis of the research questions as well as the frames identified in news reports. Titscher et al (2002, 58) in Kohlbacher (2006) states that “the core and central tool of any analysis is its system of categories: every unit of analysis must be coded, that is to say, allocated to one or more categories. Categories are understood as the more or less operational definitions of variables”.

Mayring, in Kohlbacher (2006) notes that content analysis considers the following:

- Fitting the material into a model of communication; It should be determined on what part of the communication shall inferences be made. In this case it is to the text itself as well as to the potential effect of the message on the audience.
- Systematic, rule-based analysis: The material is to be analysed step by step, following rules of procedure, breaking down the material into analysable units.
- Categories in the centre of analysis: Text interpretation to be based on categories formed on the basis of the research questions.
- Subject-reference instead of technique: Connectivity of the unit of analysis shall be based on adaptation dependent on the subject and context under study.
- Inclusion of quantitative steps of analysis: Triangulation to argue in favour of an integration of qualitative and quantitative methods.

Mayring (2014) proposes a step by step process in doing the content analysis thus:

- (a) Formulation of issue/problem.
- (b) Determination of the material sample.
- (c) Establishment of a category system (dependent upon the issue concerned) i.e. determination of which text elements are to be checked for frequency.
- (d) Determination of analysis units, i.e. decisions as to
 - (i) What the minimum component of text that can fall under the heading of a category. (recording unit)
 - (ii) What the maximum text component is (context unit) and,

- (iii) The sequence in which text components are to be encoded (unit of classification)

Such components can be syllables, words, sentences, phrases, paragraphs.

- (e) Coding i.e. working through the material with the help of the category system in order to record the occurrence of categories.
- (f) Computation, i.e. establishing and comparing frequencies.
- (g) Description and interpretation of the results

3.5 Population, sampling and sampling techniques

As indicated in Chapter one, the accessible population will invariably be all tweets but the target population sample will be the #mugabestatevisit, #Mugabeinsouthafrica, and #Mugabeinsa. In this target population sample, a further sample will be drawn which will streamline the #mugabestatevisit #Mugabeinsouthafrica, #Mugabeinsa tweets into those deemed relevant to the study. Some tweets will have the said hashtag but at the same time may not have anything relevant to the study or even relevant to the state visit itself. Importantly, the hashtags will not be discriminated against, different hashtags could have been used by different people for the very same visit. Hashtags like #mugabeinsouthafrica, #mugabeinsa among others will be considered for analysis. The unit of analysis will thus be the specific tweets on #mugabestatevisit #mugabeinsouthafrica, #mugabeinsa that will be purposively sampled.

The Sunday Times was selected for analysis because it the most widely circulated Sunday newspaper and a major source of public opinion in South Africa. Twitter on the other hand, provides abbreviated news stories, easily accessible with links and comments. One can make Twitter the aggregator of their news stories every day and cap it off with a comment on how they feel about the trending news of the day from the various outlets.

The study focuses on the period between 10 April 2015 and 17 April 2015. All news articles from *The Sunday Times* and the Times live page that relate to the state visit will be analysed. These will be compared with the tweets from the same period that used the #(hashtag) #mugabestatevisit or a variation of that.

3.6 Data collection method and tools

Data collection entailed identifying news articles and tweets on President Robert Mugabe's state visit to South Africa and these should have been published between 10 and 17 April 2015. The dates encompass the day Mugabe's visit to South Africa was announced, the day Mugabe arrived in South and when he departed the country.

3.6.1 Coding the data

According to Saldana (2009) "a code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data". A coding system is the excellent method for capturing nuances and salient underlying meanings embedded in text. As Saldana emphasises, the code captures and represents a datum, a single piece of information, as a fact, statistic, or code; an item of data's primary content and essence. According to Ramirez, Lewis and Murray (2015) content analysis helps identify, enumerate and analyse occurrences of specific message and message characteristics embedded in communication texts. However, before one starts on the coding process, the categories have to be chosen under which the datum will be categorised. The basic coding process in content analysis is to organise large quantities of text into much fewer content categories. A coding scheme is a translation device that organises data into categories.

In a paper, titled "Developing a coding Scheme for Content Analysis: A How to Approach", the University of Kentucky advises that one should pick and use indicators that can be translated reasonably into quantitative scores. Secondly, categories that call for value judgment as well as those that require too much interpretation on the part of the coder. In addition, categories should be (a) exhaustive, which implies that every recording unit must fit into one coding category or the other. (b) mutually exclusive: this means that each recording unit should fit into one and only one category in a given scoring dimension. (c) derived from a single classification principle: This means conceptually different aspects of analysis must be kept separate. Each dimension must be coded separately. (d) The next element to look at is independence. Each category should be represented in an absolute category distinct from all other categories. (e) Finally the categories should be sufficient enough and relevant to adequately answer the questions asked of the data; this is to say the entire concept should be adequately covered.

The researcher must take care to exclude third party variables and related concepts which might be irrelevant to the issue at hand and are not supposed to be measured by the category scheme. The advice is not to allow influences other than those being investigated to creep into the study and affect the results. The differences among categories are going to be meaningful, large enough to matter with an appropriate dimension. Categories will be narrowly tailored and precise but must not be too narrow too. Enough features will be covered to make valid judgments.

Borrowing from Elo and Kyngäs (2007)'s blue print on coding, the steps followed in this study are an open coding process, (a) notes and headings were written in the text while reading it. (b) reading through again while writing down as many headings as necessary, describing all aspects of the content. (c) headings were put into coding sheets and categories generated. (d) lists of categories were grouped under higher order headings. It is important that one guards against having a single code that falls into different, separate categories. This brings to the fore the need for background, i.e. the context under which the text is produced, the broader circumstances under which the text is produced. In this study, this was made possible through newspaper analysis rather than with social media analysis. It was not easy to determine the circumstances under which a social media message were produced even though inferences, which are not empirical, could be made. Van Dijk (1999, 2007) in Mayring (2014) contends that every talk and every text is situated. It is the role of content analysis to find the place where these are situated and use the information in not only the analysis, but also the interpretation process. Mayring (2014) suggests that this can be done by way of free interpretation of the material under review, having content analytical steps and rules as outlined above. The steps and rules were used as guidelines or orientation to establish a subjective relationship in the material. The role of the content analyst in this regard was to use his/her competencies, pre-knowledge and empathic abilities in the analysis process.

Content analysis will thus include context analysis, as a matter of principle and requirement. Mayring (2014) defines context analysis as “the way participants understand and represent the social situation that influences discourse structures”. Context consists of two levels, the micro context and the macro context, with the macro context being the broader environment and circumstances under which a text is produced. The micro context is the narrow, more personalised circumstances under which the text is produced. These are usually personal to the individual producer of the text. These circumstances ultimately affect the uptake of the message by the audience, and thus the interpretation. The content analyst can thus not ignore the broader circumstances under which a text is produced if they are going to come up with an analysis and interpretation that is all encompassing.

3.6.2 Categorising the data into themes

Coding is about labelling, but it does not stop there. Saldana (2009) citing Richards and Morse (2007) notes that coding leads ‘from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea.’ Coding in itself will not be complete in the analysis of data, a second cycle, otherwise known as recoding, will need to be done to generate categories, themes, and concepts. The coding, recoding and categorisation is all done in order to seek patterns, which will then lead to ideas that help explain the patterns. Categories are patterns or themes that are directly expressed in the text or are derived from them through analysis. The purpose of creating categories is to provide a means of describing the phenomenon, to increase understanding and to generate knowledge. Relationships among categories are then identified. Through content analysis words and content can and will be distilled into fewer content related categories. The categorisation and coding will be done inductively. This is to say that categories will be picked as the researcher goes through the data. Chunn and Kramer (1999), in Elo and Kyngäs (2007) state that “An approach based on inductive data moves from the specific to the general, so that particular instances are observed and then combined into a larger whole...”. This approach seeks to deviate from the deductive approach, which generates categories in a vacuum and then attempts to shoehorn the data into these categories. This is potentially very subjective. Dey (1993) in Elo and Kyngäs (2007) notes that when generating categories by inductive content analysis, the researcher comes to a decision by way of interpretation, as to the things to put in the same category. Categories are then labelled by way of content-characteristic words. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) note in this regard that researchers should avoid using preconceived categories instead allowing the categories and names to materialise and emerge from the data itself. They go on to suggest a step by step approach that helps in the inductive categorisation. It is recommended that:

- The researcher must read data repeatedly to achieve immersion and obtain a sense of the whole.
- Data is then analysed word for word to derive codes-highlighting the exact words from the text that appear to capture key thoughts or concepts.
- The researcher then makes notes of first impressions, thoughts and initial analysis. In this way labels for codes emerge that are reflective of more than one key thought.

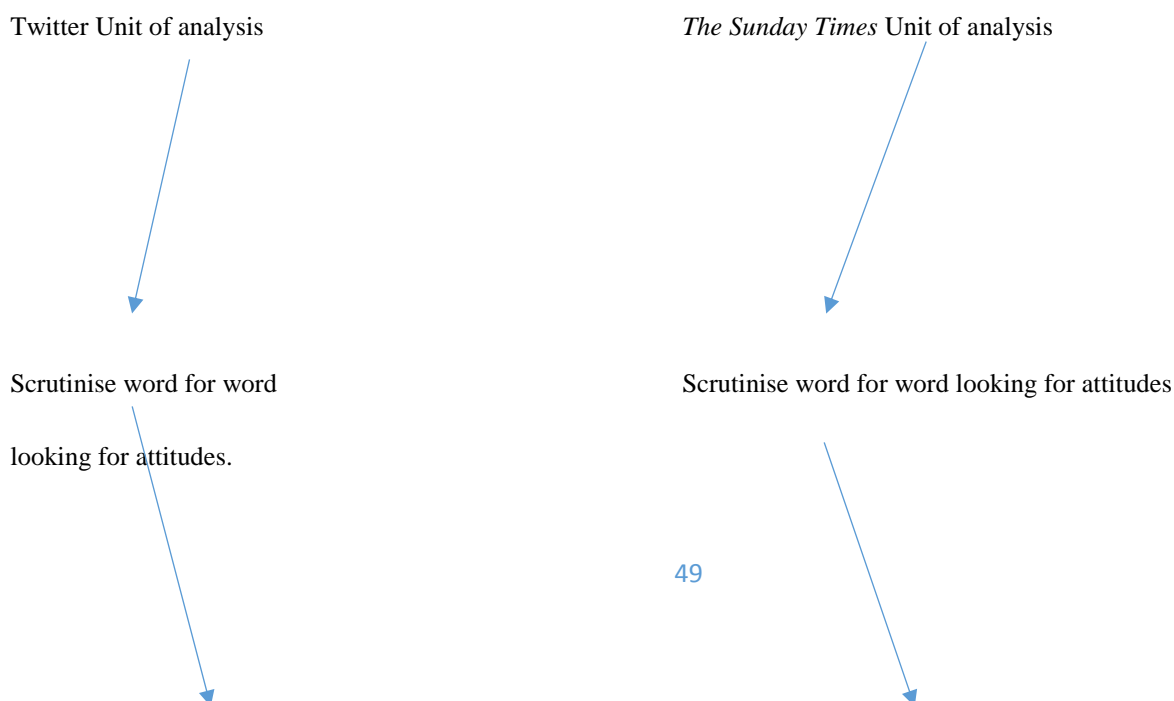
Codes are then sorted into categories based on how different codes are related and linked. In this study the focus was on text that captures attitudes, in order to answer the various research questions and the sub questions. There were captured from the Twitter sample as well as from *The Sunday Times* sample and these were compared. In other words, the different categories picked from *The Sunday Times* were compared to the attitude categories from Twitter. Sifting through the sampled tweets under the #hashtags picked, every word is scrutinised to look at what each word signifies and thus forming its own category. The same was done for *The Sunday Times* articles.

Ramirez, Lewis and Murray (2015) note that content analysis categories:

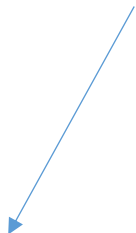
1. Organise the data into categories
2. Be guided as much as possible by the meanings available in the data rather than by pre-existing theoretical models.
3. Identify key themes emphasised in the selected sample.
4. Pick up similarities and differences in the sample, in this case on Twitter and *The Sunday Times*.
5. Keep track of thematic elements.
6. Compile sub themes.
7. Create a pattern.
8. Finally evidence of an argument is now available.

This research was organised as shown in the diagram below.

3.6.3 The coding and Analysis process



Different attitudes categorised



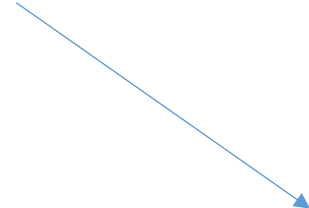
Possibility of recoding



Quantifying the codes



Analysis and interpretation of twitter categories



Different attitudes categorised



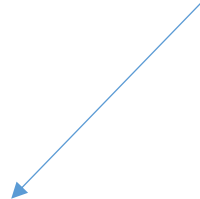
Possibility of recoding



quantifying the codes



Analysis and interpretation of Sunday Times categories



Comparison of the two

As shown in the above diagram this study did not only code and give quantitative permutations to the data but sought to go beyond and qualify the coding and categorization of results, especially in relation to the comparison of public interest versus twitter. The meanings of the categories, overt and covert are the results of the research.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed theories that guide the study in relation to message production and reception. These are framing theory, the agenda setting theory and to a lesser extent the meaning production theory. Understanding these theories was important in the sense that they provided a basis for gaining insights into all the aspects and variables of the study. The chapter also discussed the research methodology employed in the study whereby the research strategy and approach, sampling procedures, population unit of analysis, and the coding process were explained. The data analysis procedure, which is content analysis was also discussed in this chapter. The next two chapters present and analyse findings of the study focusing on the reporting of President Mugabe's state visit to South Africa in *The Sunday Times* and Twitter. Chapter Four focuses on reporting of Mugabe's state visit in The Sunday Times while chapter focuses on Twitter reporting of Mugabe's state visit to South Africa.

Chapter 4: Presentation of Findings and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses findings based on *The Sunday Times*'s reporting of President Robert Mugabe's state visit to South Africa. Chapter Five, which is the next chapter presents findings based on analysis of Twitter reporting of Mugabe's visit. In this chapter the analysis was based on parameters identified by Lynch & Peer (2002) and Fourie (2009) thus:

- (a) Story theme (Main Topic)
- (b) Geographic focus (Local or national focus)
- (c) The treatment of the story (narrative)
- (d) Origin of the story. (Staff, wire etc.)
- (e) Visual presentation
- (f) Diversity of photographic representations and sources as well as use of quotations.
- (g) Structure
- (h) Length
- (i) Subject matter
- (j) Readability
- (k) Possible bias
- (l) Location of the story on a particular page.
- (m) Location of the story in the newspaper itself.

Before discussing these findings a brief background will be given on the aspect of manifest coding as well as latent coding. This distinction is important for this research because it is more concerned with coding at the latent level. This is despite the fact that all coding starts at the manifest level and then goes deeper into latent coding. Manifest coding operates at the denotative level. As Fourie (2009) notes, manifest coding is physical and very much quantitative and is therefore more objective than its latent counterpart. Latent coding on the other hand operates on the connotative level. This is an attempt at interpretation of the symbolic messages. As alluded to earlier, the study started at the manifest coding level and then moved to the latent level. A mixture of the two is crucial because some of the variables that contribute to the latent interpretations are impacted upon by the manifest variables.

4.2 *The Sunday Times*: A Brief Background

Before delving into the analysis of *The Sunday Times*, it is important to give a brief background of who the *Sunday Times* South Africa is. According to their website, *The Sunday Times* is South Africa's biggest-selling weekly newspaper with a readership of 3,733,000. The newspaper is the major Sunday news outlet for South Africans providing citizens with a platform to relax and unwind, socialize and interact, and gain knowledge that helps readers cope with life. It is committed to sharing knowledge that enriches peoples' lives. *The Sunday Times* is a tradition – an experience South Africans have grown to love and trust. Every Sunday the newspaper brings families together, thus circulating 455,129 copies each Sunday – sharing the various sections of the paper in a relaxed environment. — *The Sunday Times* is the paper South Africans know they can TRUST. It truly is the 'PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE'

4.3 President Mugabe's State Visit in *The Sunday Times*

In *The Sunday Times* of 12 April 2017, immediately after the state visit, which is one of the unit of analysis of this research, there were a number of stories run about Robert Mugabe in particular, and broadly about the state visit. Two of the stories were on page 4. Attenborough (2014) notes that '...there is more to the media than the reportage of talk and text: from lexical, syntactical and rhetorical details, through to the graphology of the page/screen upon which they appear, both will be re-contextualised as part of a journalist's story of what actually happened'. By extension, thus anyone interested in the front page of the newspaper will be led to page 4 to finish the stories and find the Robert Mugabe stories(s). It is critical to note that while these stories were put on page 4, the treatment given to the stories were more editorial and commentary. The narrative treatment beggars the question, why were they placed on these pages and not on the Opinion and Analysis pages?

In saying the Medium is the message, Canadian scholar, Marshall McLuhan appreciated that when interacting with texts, audiences do not do so in a vacuum, but the interpretation is impacted not only by the medium itself, but also the variables that accompany the story in that particular medium. In other words, there is a whole lot of noise and other mediating factors that contribute to the uptake of a particular message.

The third story was placed on page 20, a page that is normally reserved for the Leader (editorial). These pages also are the ones normally called Opinion and Analysis pages. This is key in this study because one immediately realises that some of the stories about Mugabe's state visit fell under the ambit of commentary. Page 21, entitled opinion, had another story. A story on page 16, Opinion and Analysis was about Thuli Madonsela but made reference to Robert Mugabe.

The next coding aspect to look at is the writer(s). This answers the question, who wrote the article? The race of the person; are they a tenured writer, a guest writer etc. According to Kraaijenbrink, Wijnhoven and Groen postulate there is no distinction between sources of information and the subsequent knowledge generated there. This is because knowledge embodies an individual's skills, methods, predictions, explanations, values and norms. When an individual writes, as a journalist or in whatever capacity, they bring to bear on the message all these aspects that are more often than not stored in their subconscious minds. While the researcher will not go into detail concerning the background of each writer of the story, a cursory glance will shed light on the motivations of the different writers and the perspectives from which they would be writing the piece.

Beauregard Tromp, writer of the story 'I'm back: the return of the 'real dictator'', is a South African gentleman, a Nieman fellow at Harvard who had worked at almost all of South Africa's white liberal owned media institutions in South Africa. He had worked across Africa. His pay check has consistently come from white liberal institutions and thus his views tend to be quite liberal as well. Sibongakonke Shoba, a black South African reporter wrote 'Mugabe's not here for the cash'. He has worked for the major media companies, white liberal, from the time he left Durban University of Technology. These include The Times Media group (Sunday Times, Business Day) as well as the *Mail & Guardian*. His views and are consistent with liberal corporate media companies which owns the means of production and thus the production of ideas. The last article, 'Mugabe, the neighbour most in need of a reality check', is an editorial thus no name is appended to it. This is the article most reflective of the institutional thought process, a reflection of *The Sunday Times* framing and representation of events over a long period, not just that of an individual writer. Looked at as a whole, one can see that the articles are all in agreement in their framing. In other words, there is no divergence of views, a multitude of views and diverse opinions represented. The analysis of the various articles reveals cognitive resonance.

The story headlined **Feted and mocked, a tyrant swans through on his farewell tour** was written by one Barney Mthombothi. With a long CV, Barney is a former editor of the *Financial Mail*, *The Sunday Tribune*, Chief Executive at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Editor in Chief Radion News at the SABC as well a journalist/reporter at various South African mainstream papers like *The Sowetan* and *The Star*. Just like Tromp, it looks like Baney was schooled in the liberal school of the media so his writings are consistent with the ideologies not only of liberalism, but of *The Sunday Times* as well. Mthombothi is also an avid tweeter and during the state visit he did tweet regularly, sometimes exchanging acerbic tweets with other tweeters in discussing about Mugabe. His views online are consistent with the views he expressed in the article.

This brings us to the issue of the letters to the editor in *The Sunday Times* of April 15 2015. Media institutions receive a lot of these letters and it is the editorial prerogative of the various editors to choose what they will use and not use from the readers. However, what letters editors choose to use is as instructive as what they chose not to use. It is not in dispute that the editors receive more than what they actually publish. In this issue of *The Sunday Times*, various letters were published touching on various topics. The Mugabe state visit got three pieces. These are **From Harare to the Hague, Blair Blair Blair** as well as **The Imitation Game**

From Harare to the Hague is basically a story about Public Protector Thuli Madonsela and how she was not invited to the state events hosted by president Zuma for president Mugabe, allegedly because she is president Zuma's 'nemesis'. The writer deduced that there was no invitation for Ms Madonsela because while the state events were happening at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, Ms Madonsela was in Oudtshoorn in the Karoo Western Cape. The writer then engages in a word-play deriving from Ms Madonsela's reference of corruption in Sweden and the Netherlands. Using a pun, the writer then referenced Harare and The Hague which has a double meaning in this context. The first one, which is at the denotative level is in reference to The Hague as a city in the Netherlands. On a much deeper level, The Hague is synonymous with the International Criminal Court (ICC) headquarters where leaders implicated in crimes against humanity are tried and sentenced if found guilty. A lot of, mainly African leaders, have been to The Hague.

By saying From Harare to The Hague, the writer is implying that Robert Mugabe might find himself there. This is despite the well documented fact that Zimbabwe is not part to the Rome Statutes which established the ICC and as such the court will not have jurisdiction over President Mugabe. However, the aim of the writer could have been realised by the mere fact of that headline and the strong play of and with words.

The other letter to the editor is headlined **Blair Blair Blair**. It is a critique on Robert Mugabe's attempts to do what the writer calls 'justify his government's land-grab policies, which ruined Zimbabwe's once thriving economy'. The writer then quotes President Mugabe verbatim in the rest of the article. The article headline plays on the fact the Robert Mugabe is always harping on how former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair was the genesis of Zimbabwe and his problems. What is instructive though is that the writer of the article does not go to great strength to critique Mugabe but rather provides Mugabe's justification instead. In saying **Blair Blair Blair**, the writer is saying Mugabe's excuses are trite.

The final letter to the editor is **The Imitation Game**. It describes Mugabe as a self-styled revolutionary. The article is a sartorial piece on the dictatorship and other Mugabe vagaries. What is more instructive about all these articles is that they resonate strongly with the general tone adopted by the paper on Robert Mugabe.

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) advises that the analyst should to immerse themselves in the data and then analyse word for word, paying particular attention to those words that seem to capture key thoughts and concepts. In this regard, a number of words and short phrases were identified. Some of the words and phrases will be allowed to repeat as they occurred in the text as they point to a trend. Borrowing from Hsieh and Shannon (2005) who advises that data should be analysed word for word to derive codes-highlighting the exact words from the text that appear to capture key thoughts or concepts, this is what the coding process found:

Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5	Category 6
Armed	Stern	Non-committal	91 year old	Beg	Lions
Dissidents	Chatter	Broad brush strokes	84 year old	Bailing out	Lair
Disappear	Raspy	Vague	Obituary	Bankrupt	Dictator
Discarded	Mischievous	Fanfare	Swansong	Crisis	Pariah
Terror	Shuffle	Mobbed	91	Cash flow problem	Destroyer
Foe	Falteringly	Cock-a-hoop		Unable to fund	Despot
Bite	Invoked	Serenade		Unpaid	Infamous
Grabs	Disdain	rhetoric		Not settled	Dictator
Killing	Despondent	Bombast		Financial Assistance	Soured
Hunted	Devoid	Obsessing		Economy	Pariah
Hounded	Troubled	Bonding session		Refusing to import	Ruin
Killed	Hapless	Self-styled		Diamonds	Strained
Suck	Mortified	Bonding session		Flocked	Sour
Anger	Ruefully			Fleeing	Harboured
Railed	Restive			Failed	Expelled
Seizure	Confounded			Fled	Short shrift
Angry	Controversy			Give up	Havoc
Opened fire	Boasting			Hiking	Wrecked
Bush	Enigma			Struggling	Wreckage
Threatened	illegally			Ruined	Dodged
Foes	Painstakingly			struggling	Imposition

Commotion	Delinquency			Lacklustre	Dictator
Jockeying	Insults				Corruption
Raging	Railing				Corruption
Radicals	Chided				Stealing
Toppled	Gay-abandon				Imposition
Beaten	Deferred				
Punch	Chided				
Hurled					
Potent					
Weapon					
Animated					
Forces					
Militants					
Land Grab					
Nemesis					
Legions					
Revolutionary					
Instigate					
Uprising					
Forces					
Militants					

The above words and phrases are central to the framing and the agenda setting attempts of *The Sunday Times*.

Derogatory	Sympathetic/Admiration
Lions stood guard outside the lair of the Great African Dictator	A spring in his step
Large crown armed	This leader of the frontline states
See the pariah	Actively supported the anti-apartheid movement.
Destroyer of a country	Delivered in impeccable English
General despot	Darling of much of the continent
Quintessential African dictator	Habitually mobbed by crowds singing his praises.
Infamous secret police	From liberation to prosperity
Make dissidents disappear	Elder statesman
Quickly discarded	Adored
Tin-pot dictator	Adoration
Instilled terror across the nation	Biggest cheer
Pitted against	Serenade his motorcade
Bitter foe	Beaten us to the punch
Stern look across his face...chatter fell silent	Worship at his feet
Raspy voice	Suave articulate and self-assured
Mischievous smile	Reinvigorated the struggle for liberation
Walks with a shuffle	
Struggles to navigate steps	
As much interest as the visit of the wife of the leader of the free world.	
Land grabs	
Disdain for Mugabe	
Vague non-committal agreements	
Starting falteringly	
Cecil John Rhodes; Pros and cons of tobacco,	

UN inequitable	
Looking despondent	
Devoid of diplomatic speak	
Pariah	
Fanfare	
Mobbed by crowds	
Economic ruin	
Seizure	
Vintage performance	
Fraught diplomatic relations	
Political turmoil	
Major economic crisis	
Out of touch with reality	
Zimbabwe government is broke	
Financial mess	
Misrule by Mugabe	
Frighteningly large number of people	
Excited Zuma Ministers	
A hero he is not	
Come to beg	
Bailing out	
Bankrupt government	
Relations strained	
Cash crisis	
Mocked	
Tyrant	
Made short shrift	
Delving into the raging controversy	
Almost as if he were boasting	
Havoc he's wrecked	
Wrong end of his policies	
Wreckage he has painstakingly created	

Propped up	
Ameliorate his delinquency	
Insults he's hurled in our direction	
Imploring South Africa	
Struggling Northern neighbour	
Deferred to	
Lucklustre mance	
Forces foreign companies	
Have fled	

Compare the adjectives and emotive language used to describe Mugabe with those used to describe the brutal murder of the Soweto uprising children in 1976. '...which commemorates the Soweto uprising during the apartheid police opened fire on protesting school children.' The writer chooses the phrase 'opened fire' and not murdered or killed. This is a place where 176 school children were brutally murdered by the apartheid police but the reporter refers to it as if nothing consequential happened. This is in contradiction to how Mugabe is framed and portrayed in the very same report. The reporter continues to make reference to 'As the children were marching in Soweto...' He could easily have said 'As the children were being murdered in Soweto...' But the obvious frame has to be amplified and intensified while other potential frames are downplayed and underplayed for maximum effect. In reference to Mugabe such phrases are 'tin-pot dictator'

As analyses both Twitter and *The Sunday Times*, one also sees apparent frames at work in the writings. The first obvious frame in both social media and traditional media is what Tiegreen and Newman (2008) call the "absence of context". The visit is looked at in a vacuum, with little time and space being dedicated to the broader context of the visit. This is especially so when the discussion on the economic morass in Zimbabwe takes centre stage. A common frame from time immemorial in news reporting has been the inverted pyramid frame. This approach is used when reporting on news, with the reporter adopting the disinterested observer and reporter of news. By looking at the Who, What, When, Where, Why and How of the news story, the reporter strives and gains a semblance of balance and impartiality. However, this kind of reportage is glaringly lacking in the reports on Robert Mugabe's visit.

Further findings on frames will be demonstrated diagrammatically below. It is important to note that a news story might exhibit signs of falling into different frames.

As the traditional media departs further and further from the traditional values of the media that emphasised the 5Ws and an H as well as the inverted pyramid structure and frame, it is becoming more interpretive and the interpretations, in most cases are at odds with the purported public opinion they claim to represent. While it is a truism that the media is free to represent the news as they see fit, it is also very true that the only legitimacy that the media has, the legitimacy that gives it protection in constitutions around the world, the legitimacy that distinguishes it from all other businesses, comes from being a representative of the public opinion and being a public sphere. While in the past it was easy and possible to claim public opinion when it really was just media and elite opinion, the proliferation of social media as a result of new information and communication technologies has led to a redefinition of the role of the media.

Tromp's narrative story (number 1) is also very instructive. He uses a lot metaphors. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) posit that using a metaphor in writing is to frame a concept through a comparison to something else. The comparison can be made to something desirable or something repulsive. In story 1 Tromp starts by invoking the imagery of lions standing on guard. These lions guarding a president in his country, purported to be a democracy. This is problematic and paradoxical. Why would a President in a democracy need to be guarded? And by lions, no less? The writer then goes on to talk about 'a large crowd armed with...', further entrenching the metaphor of the guard lions. According to Grunwald metaphors are basic in the production of meaning. He goes on to say 'the use of metaphors in newspaper texts demonstrates explicitly how the communicator is active as a narrator...'

The story telling technique employed in story 1 is one that elicits a vivid narrative that is memorable. This is crucial because it is highly emotive and the story is spun in such a way that a value judgment is conveyed. This value judgment is not immediately apparent, but as one reads on to the end, emotions are elicited. Ultimately an inherent bias is created.

The use of sources in framing, agenda setting and meaning construction is critical. Allgaier (2011), notes that 'Media accounts of reality have the potential to influence public opinion and decision making processes. Therefore, who has and who does not have access to the media and can make their voice heard is a crucial question with serious political consequences.' In relation to *The Sunday Times* stories under discussion, not even a single one had a *vox pop*. Alback (2011) notes that vox pops in news reporting helps in identification with readership, a feeling of 'one of us'. Expert sources on the other hand provide

compensatory legitimation. Bosch (2014) weighs in to say;

Man-on-the-street interviews are intended to represent how the “common man” feels about an issue, and constitute a journalistic attempt to capture the archetypal “John Q. Public,” and thus are commonly used in studies to test the ability of news media to influence perceptions of public opinion.

Besides the opinions of the journalists writing the various stories in *The Sunday Times*, the only other voices that were heard were those of ‘experts’. The Director General in the South African Presidency, Cassius Lubisi, Mugabe’s spokesman George Charamba, Simon Freemantle, the Head of African Political Economy at the Standard Bank as well as Alice Lourens, the Corporate Relations Manager for Impala Platinum are the only ones given a voice. No member of the public had a say, despite the fact that a lot of opinions held by members of the public are widely and freely available on various online fora.

Another aspect that cannot be ignored in news reporting, both online and in traditional papers is the use of images and photographs to set the tone of a report. The first obvious aim of the photography in a story, especially in traditional media, would be to grab the attention of the reader. However, photographs go beyond just grabbing the attention of the reader, to also setting the tone. Photographs can excite, but at the same time can repel. They also create perceptions. A photographer and an editor with sensory perspectives will know how to take particular types of photographs and better still the exact kind to include in the story so that the photography dovetails properly with the tone of the story. A look at both *The Sunday Times* and twitter will reveal interesting aspects about the choice of photographs. Before looking at the different photographs used for this study, it is important to look at what scholars say about their use and possible manipulation.

Basic things like whether the selected picture is black or white matter in establishing the tone of the story. Fourie (2009) asserts that ‘we often associate light with clarity, warmth and/or security, whereas darkness can be associated with resting, coldness, unpredictability and/or tension.’ Without getting into detail, it is apparent that the choice of a black or white or a colour photograph is a conscious decision that is part of the framing and agenda setting process. Zillman (cited in Bruder, 2007) contends that photographs in news have the ability to ‘stir emotions and foster public outcry like no other means of expression’. Knobloch, (cited in Bruder, 2007) posits that ‘if images persist in memory longer and more vividly than text and verbalizations, all while exerting a stronger influence on perception and judgement, will they diminish the function of text and language altogether?’ Photographs are key in framing because not only do they speak a universal language, but their impressions are vivid and lasting. Editors normally use them to illustrate a point, to get a visually stimulating layout as well to elicit ‘a greater emotional response from

the readers' (Bruder, 2007). Pfau, (cited in Bruder, 2007) adds that folks do not 'read newspapers and magazines; instead they look at them, scanning headlines and photographs to determine which are worth committing time to'.

Camera shots are also instructive in how the audience ultimately interprets a photograph and its story. The extreme close-up (big close-up) shot, the close-up shot, medium close-up shot, the medium shot, the medium-long shot as well as the long shot all speak different stories even if they are of the same object. These different shots can be used to convey impact as well as to show facial detail, reflect emotions in the eye, allowing room for the setting as well as to establish the setting.

The Sunday Times did not use a lot of Robert Mugabe's photographs but of the one(s) they used, a clear framing narrative is apparent. The pictures used in *The Sunday Times* for Robert Mugabe are all in colour. There could be a number of reasons for this. By combining the visual images, the headlines of the stories as well as some of the content of the newspaper, one can deduce that one of the major points that the paper intended to make was that Robert Mugabe is a nonagenarian. One of the photographs is of Robert Mugabe walking side by side with President Zuma. In a medium shot, the aging status of the two presidents is made apparent. Zuma at 73 looks old in the picture. Mugabe is in his 90s. This picture accompanies the story headlined "**Mugabe talks up commerce with SA**". Needless to say that the photograph chosen here has got no relevance to the subject under discussion save that the story somehow talks about Mugabe and Zuma in discussing commerce.

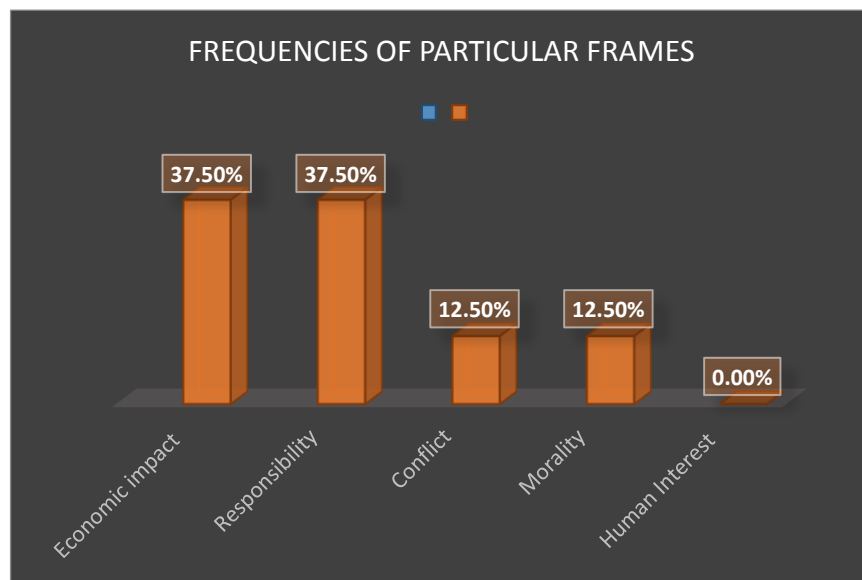
The story headlined "I'm back: the return of the 'real dictator'", which is on the same page with **Mugabe's not here for the cash**, makes use of two photographs. The first photograph, much more prominent, features Mugabe seated down, smiling and looking up, wearing what looks like an oversized suit. The shot, more like a medium close up, shows Mugabe in profile. It is not a very flattering photograph, it also accentuates the aged nature of Robert Mugabe. The other photograph on the same page, shows Mugabe and Zuma toasting with glasses of wine and a bouquet of flowers in front of them. A medium shot necessitated in order to capture the two leaders also appears to show Mugabe wearing an oversized suit. Zuma is smiling but Mugabe has what looks like a tired faint smile.

Key: This will look at the frequency of each frame/category in the news articles selected as well as in the tweets selected up to a maximum of eight articles identified in *The Sunday Times* and 97 tweets from the three hashtags.

There are a number of frames that have been identified to be almost universal in traditional mainstream media news coverage. Wasike (2013) identified the following frames; conflict frame, which seeks to portray an adversarial relationship between different protagonists and antagonists in the story. Ironically ‘the people’ are always portrayed as the victims while there is always a leviathan character who is the main focus of the story and the antagonist. The second frame is the human-interest frame, which seeks to emotionalise the news. The economic impact frame, whose aim is to assess the economic impact of certain decisions or policies on people is an example. The responsibility frame seeks to establish a cause and effect paradigm, a causal relationship between certain behaviors and certain results. The final frame is the morality frame, which gives religious and moral implications to the events discussed in the piece. This is followed by a proposal of solutions. Moeller (1999) identifies a formulaic coverage of issues, sensationalized language as well as analogies, metaphors and images as contributing to the frames and how they were constructed.

Using the above framework, the research revealed the following in relation to *The Sunday Times* stories:

Economic impact	37.50%
Responsibility	37.50%
Conflict	12.50%
Morality	12.50%
Human Interest	0.00%



	Conflict	Human Interest	Economic impact	Responsibility	Morality
Story 1				X	
Story 2					X
Story 3			X		
Story 4	X				
Story 5			X		
Story 6			X		
Story 7				X	
Story 8				X	

	Story 1	Story 2	Story 3	Story 4	Story 5	Story 6	Story 7	Story 8
Conflict				X				
Human Interest								
Economic Impact			X		X	X		
Responsibility	X						X	X
Morality		X						

Using Wasike (2013)'s framework, an article or tweet will qualify under conflict if there is an emphasis on disagreement and/or conflict. It is important to note at this stage that some stories may belong to different categories and frames, but it is a requirement of content analysis that every unit of analysis should fall into a mutually exclusive category. To satisfy human interest, articles and tweets should emphasize stories on human life, which tend to elicit emotions of some sort in the readership. For economic impact, stories would need to satisfy business and economic factors and trends, state of the economy, in this case, the state of the Zimbabwean economy.

The morality frame includes moralising and ascribing the need for moral authority in one way or the other. In this case, a call for Mugabe to ‘do the right thing’ would fall under the morality frame. The responsibility aspect articles are framed in such a way that the articles seeks to analyse certain events under the microscope of establishing a causal relationship and then asking or assigning the responsibility for such a state of affairs to someone. As the above table shows, 37.5% of the stories are on economic impact. A further 37.5% is on responsibility. Conflict and morality have 12.5% each with no stories that show bias towards human interest.

This analysis shows a developing trend. A story establishes the conflict from a general Zimbabwe and the rest of the world versus Robert Mugabe. After establishing the conflict, the train of thought is further developed and expanded on in the subsequent stories emphasizing that this conflict has caused an economic impact of huge proportions and Mugabe needs to take responsibility for this. After taking responsibility, Mugabe must do the right thing and resign, that is the moral thing to do. The message is that give Zimbabwe and the rest of the world a chance to salvage what is left of Zimbabwe and start rebuilding. One also needs to look at the headlines of the eight stories published in *The Sunday Times*. Headlines in newspapers are usually full of innuendo and hidden meanings. They also convey attitudes and values. Of the eight stories, these are the headlines. Story 1: **“Mugabe, the neighbour most in need of a reality check”** (page 4). Story 2: **“I’m back: the return of the ‘real dictator’”** (page 4). Story 3 **‘Mugabe’s not here for the cash’** (page 20). Story 4: **“Feted and mocked, a tyrant swans through on his farewell tour”** (page 21), Story 5: **“From Harare to the Hague, Blair Blair Blair** (page 16), Story 6: **“The Imitation game”**. These three look like they are the letters. Their significance will be discussed later in this chapter. In the Business section, page 1 leads with **“Mugabe talks up commerce with SA”**.

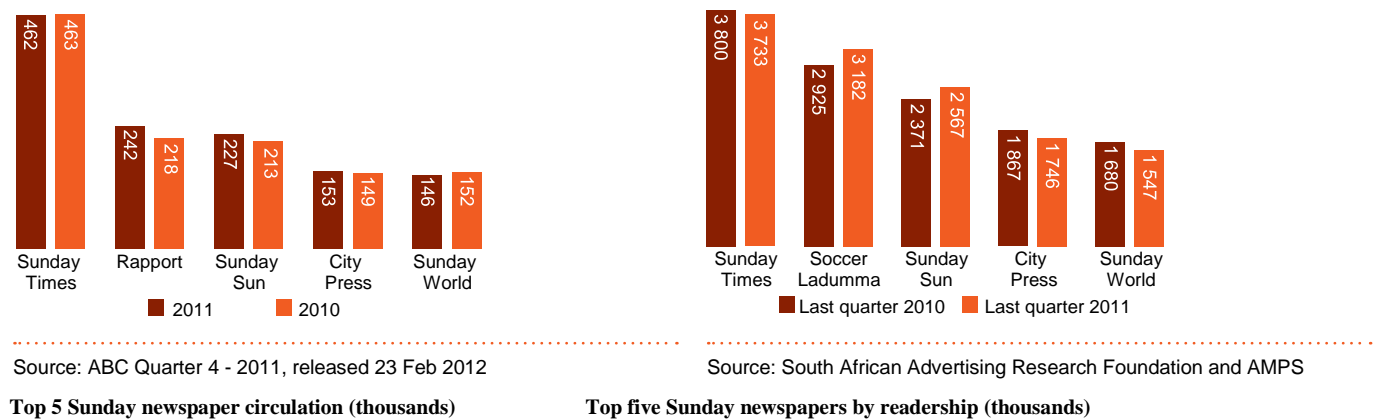
What strikes one immediately after reading the headline(s) is news frames meant to set an agenda. By looking at the headlines alone, one can immediately see the absence of sympathy in *The Sunday Times* scribes. Alternatively, the other side of the story is completely ignored. It is a requirement of journalistic ethics that both sides of the coin be considered to enable readers to decide for themselves. The flip side of the story is given a cursory, perfunctory glance in one of the stories, **I’m back: the return of the ‘real dictator’**. Or **Feted and mocked, a tyrant swans through on his farewell tour**.

These headlines on their own speak a story of their own. Mugabe needs a reality check, he lives in utopia. Mugabe is also a dictator, something that is now indisputable. Mugabe is coming from a bankrupt country. He might not be looking for money but nonetheless his country is broke.

While one reads the stories, it is possible that another headline could have been chosen. The choice of headline is not accidental nor is it coincidental. Its aim is to feed the frames, the established frames, the frames that have been established by the mainstream media. The **“Feted and mocked, a tyrant swans through on his farewell tour”** headline is also interesting because it captures feelings that Robert Mugabe elicits across people, countries and continents, feted by some while at the same time and in equal measure mocked by others. The headline also captures a feeling that has been going around the world for the last 17 years that Mugabe has been on his swansong. This feeling has been based on nothing else except the advanced age of Robert Mugabe. Secondly, Mugabe has been the leader of Zimbabwe for a very long time, being the only leader Zimbabwe has known since independence from Britain in 1980. The headline makes it look like Mugabe is on his long overdue farewell tour of the world, to death or retirement.

The Sunday Times analysis reveals a number of things critical to this study. Chief among them is that there is a correlation between today’s framing of news and the institution’s memory. *The Sunday Times*, like most liberal news outlets, has to maintain a semblance of consistency in their coverage of Robert Mugabe. The present framing of Robert Mugabe is informed by the post year 2000 events. There has been no turning back since. Another important observation is the consistency of the articles. Writing from different angles, all the eight articles on Robert Mugabe in this particular issue of *The Sunday Times* all congregate at the same conclusion, Robert Mugabe has been a liability and he continues to be one. As one goes to social media, in this case Twitter, it becomes apparent that *The Sunday Times* has missed a trick, diversity of divergent voices in the coverage of the stories. Twitter makes it apparent that indeed there is a divergent of voices and views on the divisive phenomenon called Robert Mugabe, which *The Sunday Times* should have considered and given fair play on their editorial pages. Twitter, as the next chapter will demonstrate, is rich in diversity. Evident in *The Sunday Times* are the generic frames that are used by all media worldwide, in spite of context or the subject under discussion.

As a way of moving into the next chapter to look at Twitter, one needs to look at the use of mainstream media in South Africa, paying particular attention to *The Sunday Times*.



The 2016 figures are not very different to the picture painted above. In particular reference to *The Sunday Times*, Kabwato (2016) in a paper titled Inside a Changing Newsroom notes that:

The *Sunday Times* has a circulation of almost 340,000 which attracts a readership of over 3.7-million South Africans per week. With a circulation of 92,000, Sowetan is read by just over 1.6-million people every day and Sunday World is read by 1.5-million people every week, on a circulation of 94,000. Business Day's readership of 62,000 comes from a circulation of 25,800.

The question to be asked and answered is to what extent can the mainstream media in this instance be regarded as a barometer for public opinion? In a country of about 56 million, a weekly readership 3.7 million is far from being representative. If anything, the figures reveal the elitist nature of the newspaper industry in Africa.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed representation of President Robert Mugabe's state visit to South Africa in 2015 in *The Sunday Times*. The analysis revealed the dominance of four inter-related frames, namely the conflict frame, economic impact frame, responsibility frame as well as the morality frame. The chapter also examined newspaper headlines of which the main observation was that most of the headlines portrayed Mugabe negatively.

Chapter 5: Representation of President Mugabe on Twitter

5.1 Introduction

Unlike *The Sunday Times*, Twitter had a diversity of views. This is mainly because there are no proprietary limitations placed on twitter producers. Of the three hashtags sampled totalling 97 tweets, a diversity of views can be witnessed. These vary from admiration of the Mugabes as well as their policies, to utter dismay and repulsion at the very same. It is important also to remember that although a tweet is composed of only 140 characters and sometimes a picture, and thus limiting background and broader context, the twitter community lives in a broader cyber community that links and contextualises events without a need for mentioning the broader context. In other words, it is taken for granted that the broader context is known and where it is not known one can always research and be up to speed. This is made necessary because of the 140-character limit. For example, one user @Rethabile001 quipped ‘Dr Grace, Sir’ in response to Clayson Monyela, South Africa’s Head of Public Diplomacy at the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO)’s tweet, @ClaysonMonyela ‘HE President RG Mugabe and 1st Lady Grace Mugabe have arrived in SA.’ This tweet also represents the unique intertextuality available to social media users, specifically twitter users. Grace Mugabe gained notoriety on twitter earlier in the year 2015 when she was awarded a Doctorate by the University of Zimbabwe. There were question marks to this doctorate and doubts were cast whether she had met the requirements to be awarded such. The user under question then took the opportunity to make a cryptic reference to the issue. It is however, very difficult to differentiate sarcasm from sincerity in the different tweets. With the example given above, the background and broader context to Grace’s academic credentials make it obvious that the writer was being tongue in cheek.

Another tweeter, commenting on the very same tweet and picture from Clayson Monyela, @Ntokozo_Shandu wrote ‘Dark and lovely’. This could very well be genuine affection for the Mugabes. Another user in the very same context quips @1BrownNative ‘Bona Amazing Grace’. This is also a sign of admiration. The derisory equivalent of this is ‘Gucci Grace’. While these examples have got nothing to do with the content of Mugabe’s message and legacy, they have been singled out because normally one does not find anything admirable in someone who they despise for one reason or another.

5.2 Mugabe's Legacy

Commenting on the message delivered by Mugabe, @tnmathunjwa says 'Mugabe is key can listen to him for hours; sense of humour, wisdom right there'. This is an endorsement of Mugabe's legacy, because, for all his faults, his message has been pretty consistent over the years. Other tweets are reflective of the aura that around Mugabe. Despite him being a very divisive character, people are still intrigued when he speaks and they congregate around him to hear him speak. Says @Ricky27_263 'At the Zim-SA business forum in PTA room is packed and we're only an hour behind schedule'. This is also demonstrated in *The Sunday Times*. Despite the institutional repulsion, the paper always finds journalist(s) to cover Mugabe. This means, for The Sunday Times, Mugabe is big news.

It is difficult to categorise Twitter in terms of categories advanced by Wasike (2013) above using *The Sunday Times* because tweets are news bursts that compressed into 140 characters. In order to be effective, one has to deliver a message that is quick and effective. Others tend to go for numbering their tweets into a chain in order to elucidate on whatever point they will be making. This however, is not a widely used strategy and in certain instances no user will use that strategy as in the unit of analysis under discussion. Before delving into the categorisation, it is important to look at some twitter terms that are widely used as well as a brief explanation of how the medium works.

5.3 Definition of Twitter Terms

Retweet: An original post repeated and forwarded by another user in order to propagate news. Retweets are commonly identified as such in a message or with the abbreviation RT.

Reply: A tweet posted in response to another tweet. A reply is usually identified by the “at symbol”, @.

Mentions: These are very similar to replies and occur when a user posts another user’s username within their tweet. Mentions are also identified by the “at symbol”, @.

Keywords: These are identified by the hash tag (#). Users insert the hash tag before a keyword or topic. When clicked, the keyword brings up all tweets that are relevant to that keyword or topic.

Plain:	These are tweets that contain no replies, retweets or mentions.
Via:	Twitter indicates where a tweet was posted from. Common sources include; Twitter, TweekDeck, various mobile devices and the Web.
Followers:	Not all Twitter users post status updates. Some simply follow those who do by subscribing to their tweets. In turn, they receive status updates on their accounts. Both statistics appear on a user's profile page.

Adapted from Wasike (2013)

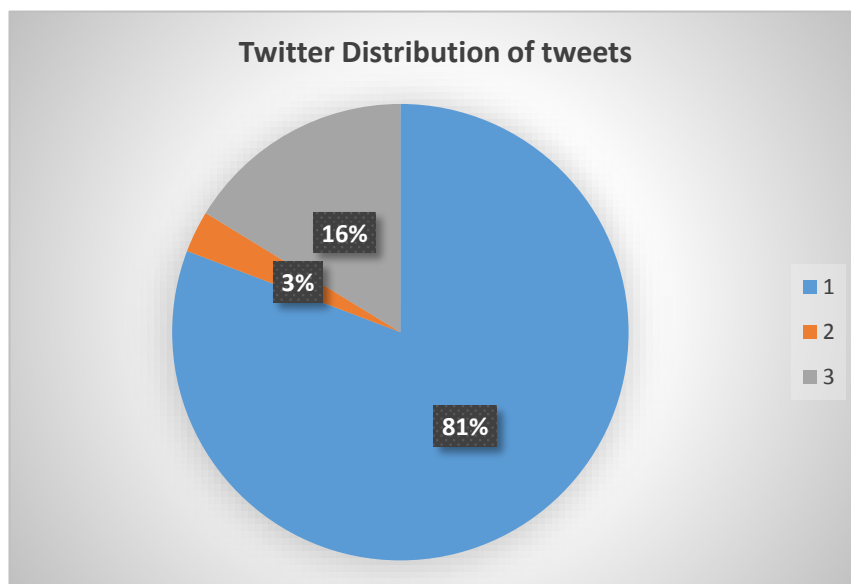
5.4 Distribution of Tweets

It is imperative to look at the tweets and categorise them according to those main categories alluded above before categorising them into the main news frames categories. This section will look to see how many tweets were Retweets, how many were replies as well as how many were plain original thoughts not linked to any of the others. The other parameters are largely irrelevant to the analysis at hand so they will not be used.

This will help in establishing a broader context on the contents of the tweet and help in the eventual analysis.

Retweets	328
Replies/ Retweet with a comment	12
Plain	66

Retweets	1
Replies/Retweet with a comment	2
Plain tweets	3



As shown in the above pie chart out of the sampled tweets only 66 were original tweets while the rest were either retweets or replies to tweets. It is important to note that in most cases people retweet what they agree with, without putting comments. Even though some users put disclaimers

saying retweets do not signify endorsements, the cognitive dissonance theory explains why one is more likely to retweet an idea they agree or sympathise with. When in disagreement users tend to retweet quoting the original tweet in such a way that it becomes a reply rather than a retweet. There were 12 such tweets. There are also replies that are made to a comment made but a tweeter user, elsewhere, not on twitter an example of intertextuality. A twitter user would then respond to this comment made elsewhere mentioning the person who made the comment using their twitter handle. Sometimes there is a response but at other times there is none.

It is also important to note the importance of the hashtags. Various other tweets were replied to by people who made no use of the hashtag. For one to see these, one would need to open each and every tweet with the hashtags and aggregate all the others. This proved cumbersome as there is potentially no limit to the number of such replies and it was thus important to delimit the study only to tweets that used the hashtags. The views expressed in these replies are by no means inferior or irrelevant, but a study of the views captured using the hashtags are representative enough of such views.

The majority of the retweets and replies are from Clayson Monyela of Dirco's original tweets. These tend to take the tone adopted by officialdom of celebrating and glorifying the state visit. These are followed by the retweets of tweets made by journalists who happen to be doing a minute by minute update of speeches made by the two leaders in various fora. There are sprinklings of disagreements here and there in the retweets with comments.

Another major difference between *The Sunday Times* and Twitter is the way Twitter provides minute by minute accounts of speeches made during the visit, in addition to the commentary, while *The Sunday Times* only looks at the visit from the broader context of Mugabe the pariah without paying particular attention to the content of his present speeches. This is in direct contradiction to traditional media's obsession with soundbites. The stories analysed above are thin on the message passed on during the visit itself but rich in information key in framing the story in a certain way. Users like @Ricky27_263 provide a detailed breakdown of the speeches in the different forms as they are taking place. These may still be couched in commentary but the essence of what Mugabe said is not lost in the commentary.

Twitter provides the other side of the story, which *The Sunday Times* fails to do. User @ThabisoTema observes how 'White South Africans despise Robert Mugabe. Black South Africans adore him...but only for Zimbabwe!!!'. While this assertion appears simplistic, it sheds

light on the complexity of the Zimbabwe situation and the character called Robert Mugabe. The user acknowledges the fact that there are two sides to the Zimbabwean issue and the Mugabe dilemma. Liberal media continues to operate simplistically when writing about Robert Mugabe. Twitter helps in putting things in a broader context. @ThabisoTema is quick to put a disclaimer, 'but only for Zimbabwe'. User @StueyMax says 'Mugabestatevisit is important because good relations are important because half of Zim lives in SA because he is a selfish di...' Twitter goes further in deriding Mugabe because of its lack of inhibitions and accountability other than that of the user. . @Chimhosva 'I have seen a red carpet being cleaned so hard. SANDF scared President Mugabe may trip again'. This statement is rich. While denotatively referring to the time Mugabe tripped at the airport in Zimbabwe, the statement on a connotative level insinuates that at his age the nonagenarian should have no business doing what he was doing. User @SKKhumalo said 'President Zuma now looking tired while Mugabe rumbles on'. The use of the phrase 'rumbles on' is key. User @cdejmn notes, 'President Mugabe hasn't forgotten he's not chairing a Zanu PF politburo meeting. He is going on and on'. This resonates perfectly with 'rumbles on'.

Other users go to the extent of using expletives to show their unhappiness about the man. User @MrsKateStewart 'Fuck off you despicable dictator, human and animal rights abuser and disgusting person.' While appreciating that they are learning an important lesson, user @Syanda_Nqobile has got some negative things to say. In one tweet @Syanda_Nqobile says 'Mugabe is teaching me some stuff here', and in another one @Syanda_Nqobile 'Mugabe is old AF'. This kind of candid and honest expression is what is always missing in mainstream media. While individual users find acceptable to be 'contradictory' about the same person on the very same event, mainstream media has no room for such candour.

Another interesting aspect is the choice of hashtag. Mugabestatevisit versus Zimstatevisit. The 1st one is reflective of the cult personality of Mugabe and the tendency of those who despise it to conflate Zimbabwe and Mugabe into one thing. This is especially interesting if one is to look at the genesis of the news of Mugabe's state visit, @ClaysonMonyela of DIRCO who chose ZimStatevisit. The usual practice is for those who follow to also use the very same hashtag. But not in this case. But a state visit is a state visit and not a personality visit.

There are certain words that are used in the tweets that will indicate two broad categories. On one hand there are tweets that seek to denigrate Robert Mugabe. On the other hand, there are those seeking to absolve or look at the other side of the story. Because of the relatively small number of the sample, this study examines each tweet in the sample and the choice of certain words. These are represented diagrammatically as below in Figure 4.1. Figure 4.2 will tabulate *The Sunday Times* articles emotive words and phrases correspondingly.

Some categories on their own appear innocent, but taken in the broader context of a tweet certain nuances become apparent. At times one tweet can contain phrases that fall into two categories and also have different sympathetic or denigratory words/phrases all in one go. With the help of some computer software, it is possible to aggregate the tweets with the hashtags #mugabestatevisit, #mugabeinsa, #mugabe in South Africa. Using a software called TAGS, the researcher was able to aggregate the tweets as demonstrated in Figure 4.1. Further information about this is found in the Appendixes.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
	id_str	from_user	text	created_at	time	geo_coordinates	user_lang	in_reply_to_user
1	824163	JacobiTM	RT @Chimhosva: I have seen a red carpet being cleaned so hard. SANDF scared President Mugabe may trip again #MugabeStateVisit	Wed Jan 25 07:54:4	25/01/2017 07:54:46		en	
2	824163	JacobiTM	RT @Syanda_Nqobile: So the nigga has touch down in SA #mugabestatevisit	Wed Jan 25 07:54:4	25/01/2017 07:54:45		en	
3	824163	JacobiTM	RT @MsTee: Gucci Grace is looking good and young. Her hair suits her. #Mugabestatevisit	Wed Jan 25 07:54:3	25/01/2017 07:54:36		en	
4	824163	JacobiTM	RT @Malgask: @zanu_pf I hope Pres #Mugabe would visit where he studied #ForthHare in Eastern Cape #MugabeStateVisit	Wed Jan 25 07:54:2	25/01/2017 07:54:28		en	
5	824163	JacobiTM	RT @ThabisoTema: White South Africans despise Robert Mugabe. Black South Africans adore him...but only for Zimbabwe!! #MugabeStateVisit	Wed Jan 25 07:54:2	25/01/2017 07:54:28		en	
6	824163	JacobiTM	RT @wesanexaka: Red carpet rolled for his excellency R mugabe. #MugabeStateVisit http://t.co/5v8RZZFKFV	Wed Jan 25 07:53:1	25/01/2017 07:53:14		en	
7	824163	JacobiTM	RT @Coolrulah: Mugabe with the 1st lady, Zuma with the chosen lady! #MugabeStateVisit #UnionBuildings	Wed Jan 25 07:52:5	25/01/2017 07:52:56		en	
8	824163	JacobiTM	RT @odejmn: Since when did it become embarrassing for a neighbour to ask a neighbour for salt or mealie meal? #MugabeStateVisit	Wed Jan 25 07:52:5	25/01/2017 07:52:55		en	
9	824163	JacobiTM	RT @SiKhumalo: Zimbabwe and South Africa sign three agreements on foreign cooperation, water and finance #MugabeStateVisit	Wed Jan 25 07:52:4	25/01/2017 07:52:46		en	
10	824163	JacobiTM	RT @SueFay1: Will we be getting water from Zim or are we offering them water? #MugabeStateVisit	Wed Jan 25 07:52:4	25/01/2017 07:52:44		en	
11	824163	JacobiTM	RT @dichabamogotsi: Lol how cool is President Mugabe...funny man #MugabeStateVisit	Wed Jan 25 07:52:3	25/01/2017 07:52:37		en	
12	824162	JacobiTM	RT @odejmn: President Mugabe hasn't forgotten he's not chairing a Zanu PF politburo meeting. He's going on and on. #MugabeStateVisit	Wed Jan 25 07:52:2	25/01/2017 07:52:22		en	
13	824162	JacobiTM	RT @TumaoleM: "We are not getting a fair deal at the United Nations." President Robert Mugabe; #MugabeStateVisit #eNCA	Wed Jan 25 07:52:1	25/01/2017 07:52:14		en	
14	824162	JacobiTM	RT @SiKhumalo: President Zuma now looking tired while #Mugabe					

Figure 5.1

The software is able to pull out the user, the tweet itself, when the tweet was created and the time it was created. It goes further to give the geo-coordinates of the user, the language used as the location of the user among other things. All this information enabled the researcher is able to pick out tweets from South Africa as these are the core component of the research in question. The worst limitation of the software, however, is that it is only configured to pull out the tweets from six to nine days before and cannot pull further than that. This became a challenge for the researcher as the unit of study in reference to the tweets is something going as far back as April 2015. What the researcher had to do now was to retweet the tweets from the time in April 2015 on to his timeline to allow the software to pick them up. The software however, now recognizes the retweeting user, who is the researcher, as the originator of the tweets. In other words the software is not able to differentiate between original users and re-tweeters. The information retrieved still provides useful information, chief among them the ability to separate and aggregate the tweets understudy and nothing else.

The three hashtags revealed a number of things, which will help in coming up with categories for the tweets. The first thing one notices in discourses pertaining to Robert Mugabe both on social media and mainstream media is that one belongs to either of two alternatives. One is either sympathetic to Mugabe or anti-Mugabe.

5.5 The Case for Twitter

Denigratory	Sympathetic/Admiration
Dr. Grace	His excellency
An hour behind schedule	Bona Amazing Grace
Can't wait to hear how this will change. (cynical)	Dark n Lovely
Make sure he doesn't miss his step or else you are fired	1 st Lady
Kwaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa u right	Mugabe is key
Word of the day-Dingthrift- a spendthrift	Sense of humour
His LAST state visit to South Africa (age implication)	Wisdom
Bob should man up and make time for the millions of Zimbos in SA, they have pertinent	Packed room

kweshins. (an allusion to hypocrisy and double standards.)	
Scared President Mugabe may trip again	Own and control the economy/not be shy about it. (Zuma)
So the nigga	Reminisces on SA&Zim liberators who have passed on
Will we be getting water from Zim or are we offering them water?	Mugabe hates Bush and little Blair yhoo!
He is going on and on.	We did not send away whites.....we took away LAND RG Mugabe.....
Mugabe rumbles on.	State Banquet
So many Zimbabweans flocking our country...now their President....	Honour President Mugabe and 1 st lady
Because he is a selfish di...	Will drink to that
Zuma clenching fists.... Is he irritated by Bob?	Gucci Grace(normally used in relation to her penchant for shopping and her expensive lifestyle in a pit of poverty but in this case could have been used to compliment given the whole context) Looking good and young. Hair suits her
Fuck off, despicable dictator, human and animal rights abuser, disgusting person	I hope Pres Mugabe will visit where he studied, Fort Hare...
Mugabe is old AF	Red carpet rolled for his excellency R Mugabe
This sanctions rhetoric has been dragged for too long	How cool is President Mugabe?
Mugabe look drunk now on tv?	Funny man
	It's your money keep it.... It's our land we will take it.
	Is it a coincidence that Rhodes must fall while President Mugabe is in SA?
	In Summary, Mugabe ke Bosso
	Call a spade a spade, no holding back
	Well-spoken honourable RG Mugabe.

	21-gun salute for Uncle Bob! Who gets that?
	Mugabe is teaching me some stuff here.
	But the nigga is good.
	President opening files of the west!

Could this be because the masses are fickle and twitter opinions are also fickle and subject to change depending on one's emotions? This is not the case with an established institutional newspaper whose editorial policy is cast in stone and cannot change easily.

The Sunday Times stories can also be looked at in the very same approach. There are certain words and phrases that are prevalent that reflect the processes at work institutionally as the stories are being written. These words also represent frames that the media institution subscribes to. It is important to note at this stage that this is the conscious agenda setting of the media.

The first thing to notice in terms of twitter photos on Robert Mugabe's state visit is that all are in colour. This maybe because twitter people use real events pictures as they appear online and there are no charges inherent whether one uses a colour photograph or a black and white. It is also apparent that twitter people tend to consciously choose photos that resonate with their own feelings on the matter under discussion. Those who showed admiration for Robert Mugabe in their tweets tended to select pictures that portrayed Mugabe in good light. The revived online version of *The Rand Daily Mail* on twitter had a clean shaven, suave and smart looking Robert Mugabe on arrival at the Airforce Base in Waterkloof. This photograph was first shared by the Head of Public Diplomacy at the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), Clayson Monyela on twitter. This photograph shows Mugabe and his wife Grace with Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane and other hangers on. Most other tweeters then used the same photograph to talk positively about Mugabe and his visit. The most interesting thing about this photograph is that it portrays Mugabe in good light. It was after all shot and shared by the Head of Public Diplomacy at Dirco. As memorable as it is, the photo elicits positive vibes from the readers.

5.6 The Banquet

Another picture that gained traction on Tweeter was once again taken and shared by DIRCO's Monyela the following day. This photograph was taken at the state banquet hosted by President Zuma in honour of Robert Mugabe. One of the photographs used by *The Sunday Times* in their stories was shot at this function. It is interesting to note that the difference between the two is that the one used by DIRCO's Clayson Monyela does not vividly pronounce the oversized suit and the old age. In this photograph Mugabe is standing alongside Zuma with Grace toasting the latter. Earlier that day, a photo had also been taken, a long shot which captured a lot of the background, of Presidents Zuma and Mugabe on the red-carpet at the Union Buildings standing still with their wives behind them. Both Zuma and Mugabe are looking rather sombre prompting a twitter user to quip 'Why is Zuma clenching his fists? These two look like brothers.'

Following Hsieh and Shannon (2005)'s recommendation that data should be analysed word for word to derive codes-highlighting the exact words from the text that appear to capture key thoughts or concepts, this is what the coding process found in the Twitter sample:

Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5	Category 6
Clenching	Well Spoken	Selfish	Walking Corpse	Inflation rate;	Sadly celebrate
Fists	Honourable	Irritated	Tired		
Rhodes must fall	Respect	Excited	Rumbles	Basic Economics	Dicktator*
Foe	Brothers	Oxymoron	Forgottewn	Dingthrift	Flocking
Seized	Dark n Lovely	Hogwash	Going on and on	Spendthrift	Embarrassing
Statues must fall	Amazing Grace	Lectured	Going on and on	Nationalised	Fuss
Invasions	Cool	Tolerance	Peacemaker	Discouraged	Despicable
Haters	Uncle Bob	Jumped	Corpse	Discouraged	Dictator
Bullied	Longlive	Illegally	Trip		Abuser
Invaded	Uncle Bob	Despise	Old AF		Disgusting

Packed	Greatest	Drunk	Man up		Human Rights
Tarnishing	Cool	Sanctions	Drunk		Tyrants
Fought	Funnyman	Fuck off			Hampering
Restrictions	Excellency	Sanctions			
	Adore	Dr grace, Sir			
	Intelligent				
	Educated				
	Nigga is good				
	Salute				
	Uncle Bob				
	Too nice				
	Charming				
	Allies				
	Siblings				
	Genuine				
	Sincere				
	Partner				
	Mugabe is Key				
	Humour				
	Wisdom				
	Umrabulo				

Coding Sheet and Guide

Name of Newspaper/name of #Hashtag

Date of Publication

Location of article/page

Headline of the Article

1. Article type
 - News
 - Commentary
 - Editorial
2. Theme of the article
3. Frame/Category of article (broad categories)
4. Sub-categories prevalent in the article

Coding Guide

Coding data will be calculated to determine frequencies and correlations-The analysis of the data will thus become interpretive.

The categories identified are (a) Sympathetic and (b) Unsympathetic

These two categories give rise to further subcategories especially on twitter, which are;

Sympathetic	Unsympathetic
(a) Derisory sympathetic	Sarcastic
(b) Dichotomous sympathetic	Derisory
(c) Matter of fact sympathetic	Matter of fact sarcastic
(d) Sarcastic sympathetic	Derisory xenophobic
(e) Matter of fact derisory (of Zuma in juxtaposing him to Mugabe)	Derisory humorous
(f) Sarcastic sympathetic	Reluctant admiration
(g) Matter of fact	
(h) Sympathetic	
(i) Heroic admiration	

* Dictator*: This is word play, used a lot on twitter to say Robert Mugabe is a dictator while at the same time he is a ‘dick’, which, according to the Free Dictionary is a person, especially a man, regarded as mean or contemptible.

5.7 Framing Mugabe on Twitter

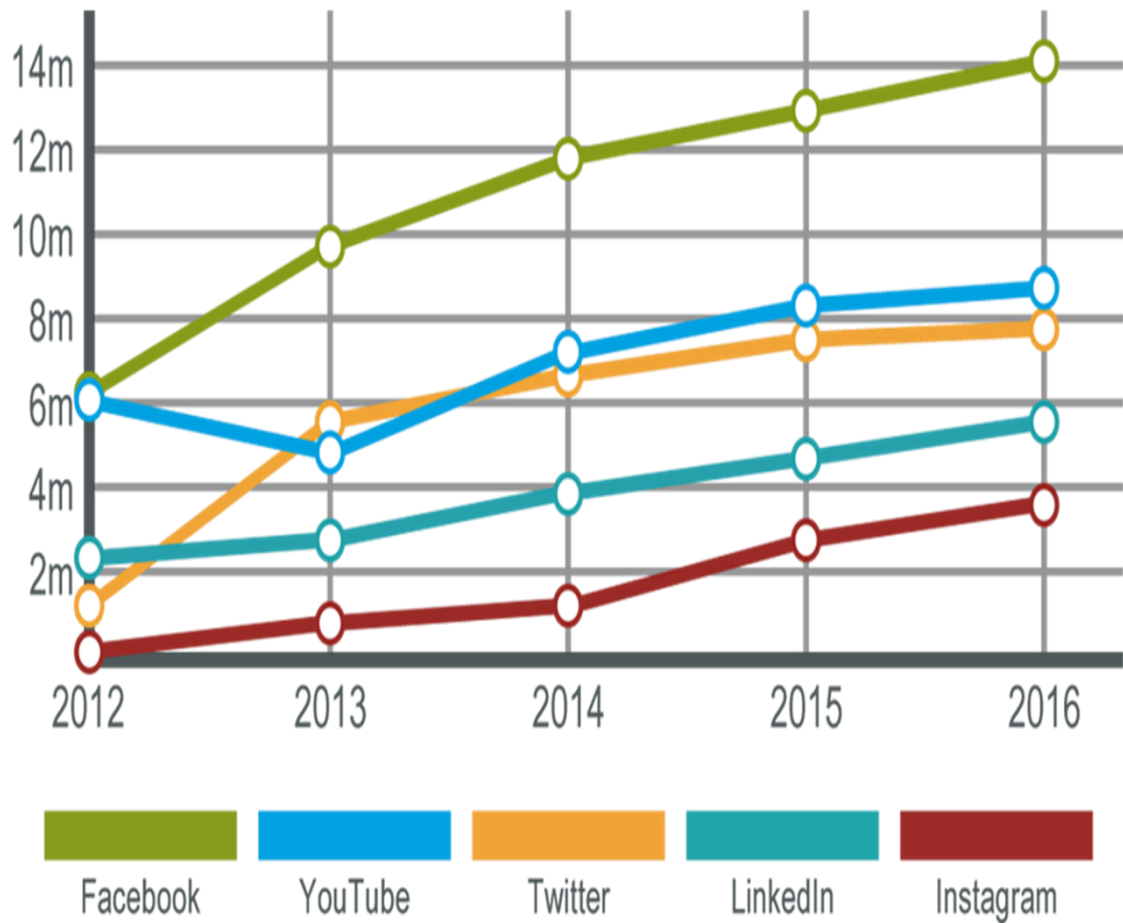
Investigating language is an idiosyncratic exercise as language is a unique phenomenon, which is not neutral and can be used in whatever form one desires, including colloquially. This requires one be fully immersed in the production and reception processes. Another aspect readily noticeable is that the people on twitter are comfortable with their own established frames when discussing Robert Mugabe and these frames are at odds with and sometimes actively resist mainstream frames. The issue of race is also very prevalent on twitter as opposed to *The Sunday Times*, which glosses over race with only undertones apparent.

Another interesting aspect is the general use of the phrase “Uncle Bob” by a number of Twitter users in reference to Robert Mugabe. A nickname is usually regarded as affectionate if it is hypocoristic in nature. Having said that “Uncle Bob”, could be used here as a term of endearment. In African nomenclature an Uncle is someone that one turns to in times of need and when in need of advice. An uncle is regarded as wise, cool and calm, brings order where there was previously disorder. On the other hand, Twitter has got peculiar nomenclature tendencies and this has given rise to ‘That Uncle’ syndrome. This is regarded as that one particular uncle that each one has who is usually embarrassing, drunk, is always at the family gatherings but no one is really fond of him. Always leaves people embarrassed. All these alternatives are possible references to Uncle Bob. It could also simply come from the expression Bob is your Uncle. This is the unique nature of language and its use in social contexts.

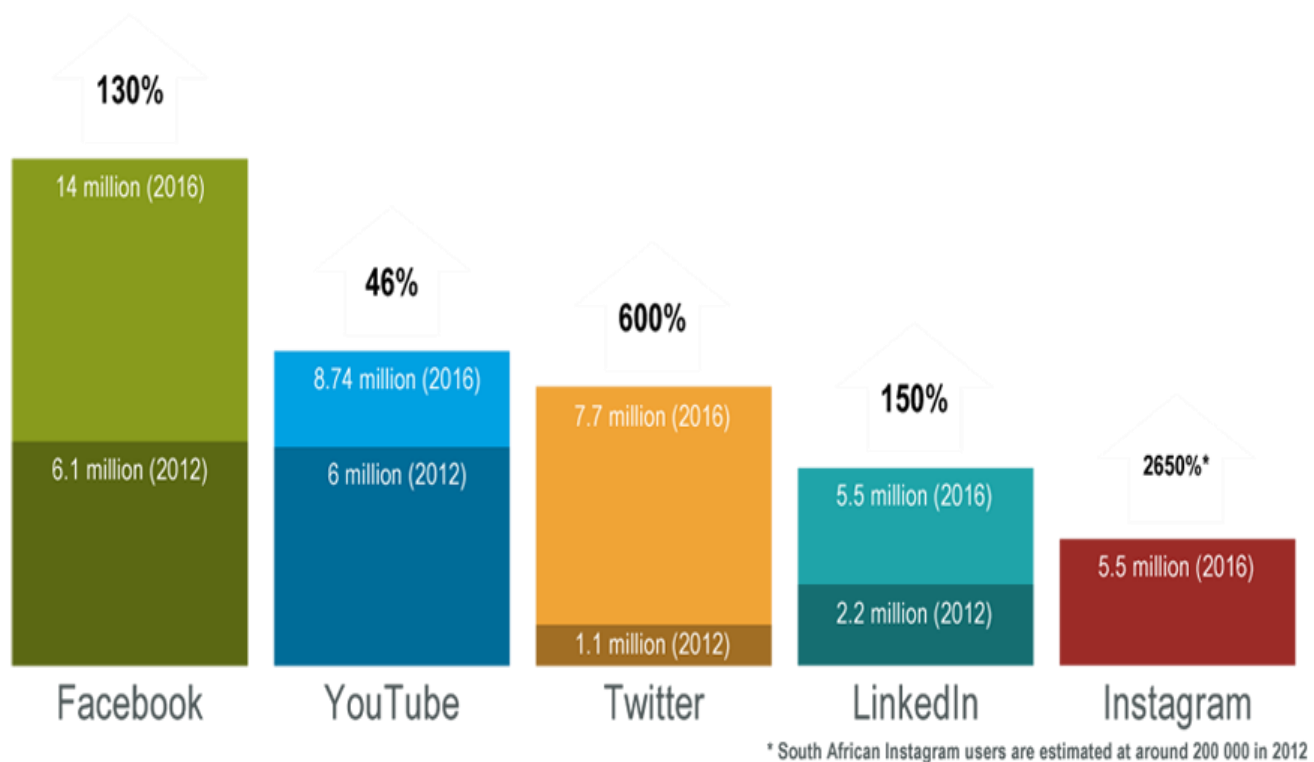
By its nature Twitter enables the expression of diverse views which *The Sunday Times* cannot do. It is the intention of this study to advance that the public interest clause of all media required that *The Sunday Times* reflects as many divergent views as possible, although not all views because that is not possible, but reflect in their coverage the diversity of opinion on the topic under study. Indeed a number of mainstream media now put side by side articles in their papers reflecting all the divergent views on a topic for in essence, the role of journalism is to encourage debate.

The fallacy would be to think that social media, more specifically Twitter is a representative of public opinion. Twitter is simply the *vox pop* of yester-year, which the mainstream media ought to use and cannot avoid. Instead of now going out into the streets to canvass people's opinions, the media has been presented with an opportunity where the *vox pop* is delivered right to their doorstep. Twitter cannot be a representative of the public opinion in South Africa because there are so many that are excluded from the discourse. According to the World Wide Worx (2016) the population of Internet users in South Africa went beyond 20 million in 2016 and is expected to reach 40% or thereabouts in 2017. Undeniably, most of the internet users use it for social media. This however, is in relation to Whatsapp a messaging application as opposed to Twitter as a microblogging site. The following diagrams indicates trends in the growth of social media in South Africa.

Social Media Growth in South Africa : 2012 - 2016



Social Media Growth in South Africa : 2012 - 2016



In a nutshell, optimistic views on twitter suggest that there are about 8 million. This is discounting the issue of multiple account holders and multiple companies that have different accounts for their different strategic business units.

CHAPTER 6: A Comparative Analysis of *The Sunday Times* and Twitter

6.1 Introduction

This chapter compares and contrasts representation of Robert Mugabe's 2015 state visit to South Africa in *The Sunday Times* and on Twitter. The chapter examines the various themes prevalent in *The Sunday Times* and on Twitter.

6.2 Themes in *The Sunday Times*

The most prevalent themes in the *Sunday Times*

- (a) The dictator/demagogue
- (b) The ruthless ruler
- (c) Leader of a bankrupt country
- (d) Leader who has bankrupted his country
- (e) Crisis ridden

While these themes are prevalent in *The Sunday Times* they are also found on Twitter. This however, is not the whole story. Whereas *The Sunday Times* accentuates derogatory categories, Twitter had a multiplicity of frames and categories. While the eight stories in *The Sunday Times* show a general trajectory in negativity towards the person of Robert Mugabe, twitter is much more revealing of the divisive nature of Robert Mugabe. With a number of users describing him as a despicable human rights abuser and dictator who is an embarrassment to the African continent, a considerable number are of a completely divergent view.

The most prevalent words on Twitter allude to;

- (a) Wisdom
- (b) Eloquence
- (c) Intelligence
- (d) Charming
- (e) Genuine
- (f) Sincere

While it is the prerogative of Twitter users, in the name of freedom of speech and expression, to say exactly as they feel about an issue, the same cannot be said about *The Sunday Times*. *The*

Sunday Times has an obligation to the public, to serve the public interest, to perpetuate public opinion, to be a public sphere, reflective and representative of the public voice. *The Sunday Times* is required, by ethical standards of journalism, to show a divergent of voices, different perspectives and diverse ideas as well as perspectives they disagree with.

The trajectory of *The Sunday Times* stories reveal a bias towards cognitive resonance, towards the stories that are in tandem with their corporate frames and editorial policy. By choosing to ignore divergent views, *The Sunday Times* acted like any other business, devoid of the public interest perspective that affords it so much protection in the constitution. Another issue to grapple with will be to what extent is both *The Sunday Times* and Twitter representative of the public in South Africa? In a country of close to 60 million people, an optimistic combined total of 10 million Twitter user and *The Sunday Times* readers is far from representative of the public. If anything, these media reveal elitism.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This study grappled with a number of issues. For a proper understanding of the issues discussed in this study it is imperative to give the proper context by re-stating the study problem and research objectives. This research sought to investigate if there are any differences in the framing of news as reported on Twitter as well as reported in *The Sunday Times*. In addition, the research sought to establish the implication(s) of the assumed differences. Having established that a dichotomy exists; the next step was to find out why such a dichotomy exists in relation to reports on issues by people domiciled in the same country, operating in more or less the same environment? The discussion on the dichotomy, led to a desire to find out what then are the effects of social media on old forms of the media. On the surface, it seems like there is an obstinacy of the old media, a stubborn self-righteousness of the news media, despite everything happening around them. Falling circulation figures, resistance to paywalls and other variables affecting the viability of old traditional media are all explained in other ways but never in terms of the idea that the audience might be resisting the content purveyed by the old traditional media, even in their new digital media platforms. Using new digital media platforms will not work as long as the audience is resisting the content frames presented in these.

7.2 Whither Traditional Media?

The mainstream media seems to have lost its legitimacy in the sense that traditional media does not care about the public pulse to determine the coverage as well as the frames of the said coverage. Gone are the days of the *vox pop*, where the journalists had to go into the streets to feel the pulse of the public. Now the pulse of the public has been brought to their smartphones and laptops but is being totally ignored. The media's obsession with the so-called experts has gone into over drive as shown by the analysis of *The Sunday Times* this at the expense of the public opinion. The present study revealed that social media arose as a direct indictment on traditional media. Indeed, as Fourie (2009) notes, 'an alternative press usually becomes active when the political, economic, social or cultural news of certain social groups are excluded from the popular media market'. Social media is the alternative media. It is undeniable that the gatekeeping role of the traditional media has been distorted, members of the public have noticed blind spots in the traditional media news coverage and have plugged the blind spots but seriously challenging the

survival of the former. Despite an attempt by traditional media apologists to brand new social media as random rants which are not policed nor engaged by journalistic or editorial staff, there is evidently no turning back.

Evident in the rise and pre-eminence of social media is also the aspect of dialectics of progress. The phenomenon of fake news has gained momentum, but the steps taken by social media in getting the power of the public back far outweighs the negativity brought about by the fake news phenomenon.

Another issue raised in the literature was the idea that Twitter could have been instrumental in setting its own agenda independent of the media agenda. What became apparent in the study is that the media is still very successful in setting the agenda. This may be mainly because for people to congregate around a story on social media, that story needs to be in the public domain already. The mainstream media at the moment seems to be the only able to bring participants together to discuss an issue. So in effect traditional mainstream remain the chief agenda setter in society. Social media then bastardises and mongrelises the agenda to its own liking. In other words, the agenda is distorted.

Appendices

Appendix A

Story 1

I'm back: the return of the 'real dictator'

Robert Mugabe, ending a long absence from SA, uses his state visit to damn the UN and the West

- Sunday Times
- 12 Apr 2015
- BEAUREGARD TROMP

Pictures: WALDO SWIEGERS

THE lions stood guard outside the lair of the Great African Dictator. Also outside, a large crowd armed with cameras, notebooks and recorders had gathered to see the pariah, destroyer of a country and general despot.

The year was 2008 and the reputation of Robert Gabriel Mugabe as the quintessential African dictator had been firmly entrenched.

It was said that one or more of every five Zimbabweans was an informer for the Central Intelligence Organisation, the country's infamous secret police, known for making dissidents disappear.

Political opponents, even those within the ruling ZanuPF, were quickly discarded as the tin-pot dictator instilled terror across the nation.

For the first time in nearly a decade, Western and other media houses were allowed to enter Zimbabwe to cover first-hand the elections in which the then 84-year-old ruler was pitted against his bitter foe, Morgan Tsvangirai.

After the crowd had waited for several hours outside State House, Mugabe finally emerged, as always, a spring in his step and a stern look across his face. The journalists' chatter fell silent.

"Are you afraid?" Mugabe asked in his characteristic raspy voice, a mischievous smile on his face. Silence. "They don't bite," he said, gesturing to the two stuffed lions on either side of him.

On his first state visit to South Africa in 21 years, Mugabe no longer has that pep in his step. He walks with a shuffle and struggles to navigate steps, often finding President Jacob Zuma a ready hand to lean on. Still, Mugabe is a nonagenarian, a word few have had need of.

The 91-year-old's visit generated about as much media interest as the visit by the wife of the leader of the free world, Michelle Obama.

The last time the Zimbabwean leader visited this country was NEIGHBOURLY: Presidents Robert Mugabe and Jacob Zuma toast each other at the presidential guesthouse in Pretoria shortly after the newly democratic South Africa had been founded. President Nelson Mandela warmly welcomed this leader of the Frontline States, those who actively supported the anti-apartheid movement.

By the turn of the century relations between the two had soured, Mandela preaching national unity and becoming the darling of the world as Mugabe encouraged land grabs and invoked the anti-colonial stance of African leaders of the 1960s. Mandela did not hide his disdain for Mugabe.

In Pretoria this week, Zuma and senior cabinet ministers played host to their counterparts, signing the kind of vague, noncommittal agreements that go hand-in-glove with these events.

Speaking to the media, Zuma explained in broad brush strokes the brotherhood and co-operation between South Africa and Zimbabwe. Mugabe listened patiently, his eyes closed. Then it was his turn.

Africans need to take greater ownership of their resources, he said. African countries need to manufacture more to maximise the profitability of their minerals.

After starting falteringly, Mugabe touched on Cecil John Rhodes, the pros and cons of tobacco and the desirability of Africans taking control of their destinies. The UN is inequitable, he said, and is run by five countries. And for how long can the developing world continue to bash against a closed door?

"Look at what they did to Libya. They said they wanted to prevent Gaddafi from killing civilians. But they wanted actually to get rid of him. They hunted and hounded him, killed even some members of his family and ensured that he was no longer there so they could suck the oil," said Mugabe.

Zuma rested his head in his hand, looking despondent.

But statements like these, completely devoid of diplomatic speak but delivered in impeccable English, have made Mugabe the darling of much of the

VINTAGE PERFORMANCE: President Robert Mugabe in Pretoria for a meeting with Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa continent while being regarded as a pariah by most in the West.

Ironically, at previous African heads-of-state gatherings, only Gaddafi could rival the Zimbabwean leader for fanfare.

Whether attending an inauguration or driving down the street, the elder statesman was habitually mobbed by crowds singing his praises.

Among the estimated 5 million Zimbabweans living in South Africa the story is decidedly different, many feeling deep-seated anger at the man who led them from liberation to prosperity — and then, most recently, into economic ruin.

To hear Mugabe tell the story, it wasn't his fault.

For close on 45 minutes at the Union Buildings Mugabe railed against Western imperialism and former British prime minister Tony Blair for reneging on the independence agreement to compensate white farmers for the seizure of their land.

With tongue firmly in cheek, Mugabe thanked the assembled journalists for paying so much attention to him.

“The publicity you have given me, those of you who focused on me as a real dictator,” he said.

Mugabe's final trip during his time in South Africa was to the Hector Pietersen memorial, which commemorates the Soweto uprising during which the apartheid police opened fire on protesting school children. The exhibition immerses visitors in the sounds, sights and feel of the time.

As the children were marching in Soweto, a much younger Mugabe had just emerged from prison in the then Rhodesia and rejoined the struggle against the minority white regime there. When he emerged from the Pietersen memorial, he was asked what emotions the visit evoked. He looked at the assembled crowd, spotted a white face and said: “I don't want to see a white man.”

As a disciple of Ghanaian liberation leader Kwame Nkrumah, as a fighter in the battle for his own country and as the leader of the Frontline States, Mugabe has seen much of contemporary African history at first hand. And the “real dictator” is angry. Comment on this: write to tellus@sundaytimes.co.za or SMS us at 33971 www.timeslive.co.za ROBERT Mugabe did not come to beg. This is according to both South African and Zimbabwean officials who have shot down suggestions his visit was a fundraising mission aimed at bailing out his bankrupt government.

Director-general in the Presidency Cassius Lubisi said on Friday there was no truth to such reports, and Mugabe's spokesman, George Charamba, has also dismissed the claim, saying, “We are a bit unhappy that we are being portrayed as coming here with a begging bowl to ask for money.”

It was Mugabe's first state visit since 1994, and it was seen as an attempt by President Jacob Zuma to smooth relations that had become strained due to differences between Mugabe and

Zuma's predecessors — Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki — over the resolution of Zimbabwe's political and economic troubles.

But even before his arrival on Tuesday, speculation was rife that the 91-year-old leader was going to ask for help in dealing with his government's cash crisis.

Zimbabwe has a budget of US\$4.1-billion (about R50billion) and, according to that country's finance department, 81% of it goes to paying 550 000 civil servants.

Zimbabwean media this week reported that the state was facing a serious cash flow problem. One newspaper, The Zimbabwean, said the country's parliament had been forced to adjourn indefinitely because it was unable to fund itself. It is claimed to owe MPs hundred of thousands of dollars in unpaid food, accommodation and fuel allowance claims.

The newspaper also revealed that some local hotels were now refusing to accommodate local MPs because parliament had not settled previous accounts.

In South Africa, Zuma rolled out the red carpet when he welcomed Mugabe at the Union Buildings on Wednesday. While the two countries denied that financial assistance dominated talks, they did state that the economy was central to the discussions.

Mugabe and Zuma signed an agreement to establish a bi-national commission aimed at, among other things, encouraging South Africa to buy certain commodities from its neighbour.

Mugabe would not say which commodities Pretoria was refusing to import, but it is believed this could relate to diamonds.

Zuma said the countries would also work much more closely to root out cross-border crime.

"The memorandum of understanding on diplomatic consultations will establish a mechanism for regular consultations on issues of strengthening bilateral relations, security and cooperation in Africa and issues of mutual interest," he said. He looked at the crowd, spotted a white face and said: 'I don't want to see a white man'

Appendix B

Story 2

Mugabe, the neighbour most in need of a reality check

- Sunday Times
- 12 Apr 2015
-

ZIMBABWEAN President Robert Mugabe made only his second ever state visit to South Africa this past week. That it has taken so long for the Zimbabwean head of state to undertake such a visit after he last did so in August 1994, when Nelson Mandela was still president, speaks volumes about the fraught diplomatic relations between the two countries over the past 21 years.

Considering that the fortunes of South Africa and Zimbabwe are closely linked, it ought to be a good thing that the two governments are now trying to foster a closer working relationship.

Our northern neighbour's political turmoil of recent years, which precipitated a major economic crisis, has prompted millions of Zimbabweans to pour into South Africa, often illegally, in search of jobs and security.

This influx has caused problems of its own for South Africa, which is already battling with extremely high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality.

That Mugabe, during his joint news conference with President Jacob Zuma, could — with a straight face — thank South Africans for accommodating these economic refugees, without taking responsibility for having caused them to leave their own land in the first place, speaks of a leader who is out of touch with reality.

Although both his government and Pretoria denied that the Zanu-PF leader's main reason for coming to South Africa was to ask for money to pay the salaries of civil servants, there can be no denying that the Zimbabwean government is broke. Mugabe's finance minister, Patrick Chinamasa, confirmed that he had approached private institutions in South Africa for help in accessing new credit lines.

What no one can deny is that Zimbabwe is in the financial mess that it is because of decades of misrule by the Mugabe government.

Yet here at home, a frighteningly large number of people still treat the 91-year-old Mugabe as a hero who should be celebrated and never criticised. This mentality was evident when he met and greeted excited Zuma ministers on Wednesday.

It was also demonstrated by the enthusiastic reception he received from Soweto residents when he visited the Hector Pietersen Museum.

Yes, we need better working relations with Zimbabwe, and yes, we should also accept that Mugabe is the legitimately elected leader of that country. But a hero he is not. Not to us, and certainly not to his people. By celebrating him, we are sending a terrible message to our country and people. We are saying we are a nation that does not appreciate the fundamental need for human rights and good governance if our country and region are to prosper.

Appendix C

Story 3

Fêted and mocked, a tyrant swans through on his farewell tour

- Sunday Times
- 12 Apr 2015
- Comment on this: write to tellus@sundaytimes.co.za or SMS us at 33971 www.timeslive.co.za

UNCLE Bob paid us a visit this week, and true to character, he didn't mince his words. He chided and dispensed advice with gay abandon.

He even made short shrift of the age-old protocol of not commenting on the internal affairs of his host, delving into the raging controversy over the statue of Cecil John Rhodes.

"You have his statue, we have the man himself," he said, almost as if he were boasting.

"I don't know what you think we should do. Dig him up? I say leave him down there, that's history."

It's a piece of advice that's unlikely to be heeded by the fair-weather radicals, cock-a-hoop after seeing the statue toppled this week.

Robert Mugabe is an enigma. He's the last man we should be taking advice from, but we do. Politically, he profits handsomely from the havoc he's wreaked. And he continues to be adored even by those who've been at the wrong end of his policies.

In a meeting with President Jacob Zuma, he is reported to have apologised for the thousands of Zimbabweans who've illegally flocked to South Africa, obviously fleeing from the wreckage he has painstakingly created of his country. Some of these migrants regularly go back to vote for him.

The adoration is not confined to Zimbabweans. Mugabe critics are convinced he would have gone long ago had he not been propped up by South African leaders, notably Thabo Mbeki.

The biggest cheer from the crowd at Zuma's inauguration a few years ago was reserved for Mugabe. And in Soweto this week residents lined the streets to serenade his motorcade.

The state visit was probably an acknowledgement by South Africa that he's beaten us to the punch. Years of trying to either shepherd him peacefully out of power or ameliorate his delinquency have failed. He's still standing — and thriving — despite the insults he's often hurled in our direction.

It seems appropriate to worship at his feet now that he's chairman of the Southern African Development Community and the African Union.

Mugabe's most potent weapon has always been his anti-imperialist rhetoric. It's a stuck record that's worked like a charm for him. It taps a well of grievance among many Africans. This week, for instance, he was still railing against former British prime minister Tony Blair. The fact that Blair left office almost a decade ago didn't seem to matter.

It harked back to his speech at the Earth Summit in Johannesburg in 2002. "So Blair, you keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe," Mugabe said, to resounding applause. It's this sort of bombast that has animated ordinary Africans and has kept their leaders relatively quiet or on his side.

Thirty-five years ago, when Mugabe emerged from the bush to lead his victorious Zanu to power, he seemed like a breath of fresh air, more so because he was an underdog. The South African government and the business community had poured resources into the fortunes of the hapless Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

The ANC was mortified by the defeat of Joshua Nkomo, its long time ally and the man regarded as the father of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

Asked about the outcome of the elections at the time, president PW Botha ruefully said Zimbabweans had made their own bed. Now, he said, they would have to lie on it. It was sour grapes, of course, but the words have proved prophetic.

Mugabe was suave, articulate and self-assured in his first public comments. He won many hearts and reinvigorated the struggle for liberation in Southern African. The restive white minority were reassured by his formation of a unity government with whites in key cabinet positions.

Apparently a moderating influence on Mugabe was former Mozambican leader Samora Machel, who had harboured Zanu fighters at great cost to his country. He nudged Mugabe to accept the Lancaster House agreement and, it is said, was responsible for the conciliatory tone of Mugabe's comments. Often, freedom fighters start off as heroes but end up as villains. Mugabe changed tack once his position became threatened.

His political obituary has been written many times before, and he has confounded his foes each time. But this state visit is his swan song. He's now 91 and clearly can't go on forever. His impending exit is already creating some commotion in his party. The jockeying for position has begun. Prominent members, including his long time deputy, Joice Mujuru, have been expelled from Zanu-PF, some believe, to clear the way for Mugabe's wife, Grace.

If she gets the top job, she'll join women who have walked in the footsteps of their husbands, among them Corazon Aquino in the Philippines and Cristina Kirchner of Argentina. Hillary Clinton looks a shoo-in to follow husband Bill to the White House.

But for Zimbabwe, this should be no time for such entitlements. The country needs to find a competent successor to Mugabe.

Zimbabweans, and the region, deserve a respite.

Appendix D

Story 4

Mugabe talks up commerce with SA

- Sunday Times
- 12 Apr 2015
- THEKISO ANTHONY LEFIFI

ZIMBABWEAN President Robert Mugabe spent much of his state visit this week imploring South Africa to strengthen trade links with its struggling northern neighbour.

Mugabe deferred to President Jacob Zuma as the more advanced “elder brother”, reflecting the economic imbalance between the countries. Bilateral trade totalled R26.8-billion last year, but this is heavily skewed. South Africa exported R24.8-billion worth of goods to Zimbabwe, and imported Zimbabwean products worth just R2-billion.

Although Zimbabwe’s economy is struggling — growing 3.1% last year off a very low base after it shrank 40% from 2000 to 2009 — it remains an important end-point for local goods. Trade between the two countries has grown 80% in recent years.

Simon Freemantle, the head of the African political economy unit at Standard Bank, says Zimbabwe is an important commercial partner, despite its lacklustre mance.

This week, the countries set up a binational commission to boost trade, which will be chaired by Mugabe and Zuma. The two presidents also signed trade deals.

Zuma said: “Our desire is that both countries should have an economy as well as trade that favours both countries.”

The reality, however, is that South Africa has been by far the biggest beneficiary of trade.

SA Reserve Bank figures show that some South Africans see business and investment opportunities in the struggling country. At the end of 2012, the figures show, South African investors directly held R11.2billion worth of shares listed on the Zimbabwe exchange, up from just R2.9-billion in 2007.

South African companies still operate in Zimbabwe despite its indigenisation programme, which forces foreign companies to give up 51% of their business to Zimbabweans. These companies include Impala Platinum, Anglo American Platinum, Standard Bank, Nedbank and Pick n Pay.

STATE AFFAIR: President Robert Mugabe and President Jacob Zuma (Photo caption)

Others have fled, including retailer Massmart, which left Zimbabwe in 2012, when it was required to give up 51% of its business there.

In hindsight, this may not have been the best decision. Its rival, Pick n Pay, went the opposite route, hiking its shareholding in TM Supermarkets from 24% to 49%. TM Supermarkets now operates 54 shops in Zimbabwe, nine of them Pick n Pay-branded stores.

When Absa, now known as Barclays Africa Group, bought Barclays's African operations in 2012, it opted not to buy the Egyptian and Zimbabwean units due to the conditions in those countries at the time. This position has not changed.

However, Barclays Africa reiterated last month that it remained interested in buying these businesses from its British parent, "at an appropriate price" and when the economic and political situation in these countries stabilised. This week, the bank said it would continue to manage these businesses on behalf of its parent.

Standard Bank's unit in Zimbabwe, Stanbic Bank, employs nearly 650 people and has 20 branches. The group dodged questions on the challenges it faced and the costs of running the unit, but said Stanbic was a "sound bank [with] a strong board and an excellent management team".

Alice Lourens, the corporate relations manager for Impala Platinum, would not be drawn on the significance of Mugabe's first state visit to South Africa in 21 years. Instead, she said the group's key focus was to sustain profitability at its Zimplats unit as best it could by managing costs and optimising output.

"We continue to advance the commissioning of the base metal refinery at Zimplats, but the imposition by the government of a 15% value-added tax on unbeneficiated platinum remains a huge concern for Mimosa operations as it materially impacts profitability."

Stronger metal prices and policy certainty would, she said, greatly assist "our ability to sustain our operations and thereby safeguard employment".

The jury is still out on whether Mugabe's visit will result in a relaxation of red tape and regulations for South African companies operating in Zimbabwe.

Appendix E

Story 5

From Harare to The Hague

- Sunday Times
- 12 Apr 2015
-

THULI Madonsela, No 1's nemesis, was not invited to the bonding session with Uncle Bob.

She instead spent time in the Karoo, assuring legions of her elderly fans at the KKNK festival in Oudtshoorn that, even though things were bad, South Africa was not about to become “another Zimbabwe”.

She must have had some of them hankering for Europe, however, when she contrasted our levels of corruption with those of Sweden and the Netherlands.

In the Netherlands, she said, the only case of state corruption the ombudsman had to deal with over a period of a year was a traffic cop stealing money from a parking meter.

And in Sweden recently, in what was dubbed the Toblerone scandal, a minister of state had to resign for buying chocolate with public money.

Appendix F

Story 6

The imitation game

- Sunday Times
- 12 Apr 2015
-

AFRICA'S greatest living self-styled revolutionary flew into town the other day for a two-day bonding session with No 1.

But instead of Uncle Bob using his visit to Pretoria to instigate an uprising that would see more than the statues of dead white men falling, he struck an unusually conciliatory tone — even suggesting at one stage that the petit bourgeois militants at the University of Cape Town should stop obsessing about Cecil John Rhodes.

But what caught Hogarth's attention were the words addressed by the 91-year-old Zimbabwean president for life to No 1 during a press conference: "Congratulations on your commendable effort to catch up with me. You've tried."

Was Mugabe referring to the fact that the Nkandla Crooner is turning 73 today, or was he talking about Zuma's recently and publicly stated dream of becoming South Africa's dictator?

Appendix G

Story 7

Blair Blair Blair

- Sunday Times
- 12 Apr 2015
-

UNCLE Bob went to great lengths in trying to justify his government's land-grab policies, which ruined Zimbabwe's once thriving economy.

"We took away land in accordance with what the British and ourselves had agreed upon, Margaret Thatcher's government. That commercial land reform programme, land shall be taken from the farmers and be given to the Zimbabweans. So it was all constitutional.

"If [Tony] Blair's England was no longer willing to pay for the land, should we have just folded our hands and said, 'Oh, Lord Almighty, I pray in the name of the father, the son and the holy ghost'?

"Goodness me, no! Blair, Blair, who was he? Just the prime minister of Britain. I'm president of Zimbabwe. So that's why we say 'OK, it's your money, keep it. It's our land, we will take it.' Balance."

Appendix H: Mugabe Twitter Photos.



Mugabe on arrival at Airforce Base Waterkloof. Twitter Photo, Clayson Monyela



Mugabe and Zuma, Union Buildings, Courtesy of DIRCO's Clayson Monyela on Twitter.



Mugabe, Zuma and Grace toasting at the State Banquet, courtesy of DIRCO's Clayson Monyela on Twitter.



Mugabe, Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa, DIRCO's Nkoana Maite Mashabane, courtesy of Clayson Monyela of DIRCO on Twitter.

Appendix I: Sunday Times Photos



Mugabe. Courtesy of the Sunday Times. Return of the real Dictator story.



Mugabe. Courtesy of the Sunday Times. Return of the real Dictator story.

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Sunday Times | 12 Apr 2015

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NEWS

in Soweto, a much young gabe had just emerged f son in the then Rhodesia joined the struggle aga minority white regime When he emerged from etersen memorial, he w what emotions the visit He looked at the as crowd, spotted a white said: "I don't want to see man."

As a disciple of Ghan eration leader Kwame N as a fighter in the battl own country and as the l the Frontline States, Mu seen much of conte African history at first he the "real dictator" is ang ment on this: write to tell

his visit was a fundrais- ion aimed at bailing out rupt government.

tor-general in the Presi- ssius Lubisi said on Fri- e was no truth to such re- id Mugabe's spokesman, Charamba, has also dis- he claim, saying, "We are happy that we are being d as coming here with a bowl to ask for money."

as Mugabe's first state e 1994, and it was seen empt by President Jacob o smooth relations that ome strained due to dif- between Mugabe and predecessors — Nelson and Thabo Mbeki — resolution of Zimbabwe's

political and economic troubles.

But even before his arrival on Tuesday, speculation was rife that the 91-year-old leader was going to ask for help in dealing with his government's cash crisis.

Zimbabwe has a budget of US\$4.1-billion (about R50billion) and, according to that country's finance department, 81% of it goes to paying 550 000 civil servants.

Zimbabwean media this week reported that the state was facing a serious cashflow problem. One newspaper, The Zimbabwean, said the country's parliament had been forced to adjourn indefinitely because it was unable to fund itself. It is claimed to owe MPs hundred of thousands of dol-

INION 23 OBITUARIES 24 SPORT 1 BUSINESS TIMES 17 CAREERS 29 BUSINESS TIMES 32 THE BACK PAGE 4 THEATRE 5 HUMOUR

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NEWS

heaven



BIKE CHAIN: Lovey Mnisi, Thokozani Mabaso and Bukeka Zwezwe

roar to life from April 24 to 26 at the Dezzie Raceway in Port Shepstone — were revealed after guests were ushered into the open-air bar area for



Islamic State recruit shocks

HAZ EGGINGTON and APIWE DEKLERK

ing to [IS] in her room. At this point I was so mad that I called the provincial commissioner, Arno Lamoer," said Abramjee.

Lamoer alerted the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation and the State Security Agency. All officials at airports and border posts were alerted.

"Luckily we found her just before the plane left Cape T

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Sunday Times | 12 Apr 2015

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BUSINESS TIMES

Rights issue pays off big for Discovery directors

Company's top big spenders borrow millions to produce instant returns

ANN CROTTY

The difficulty with a rights issue is you do not know how it will play out

Turning the Wheel


Scrapped high-emission vehicles are seen piled up at the dump site of a recycling centre waitin

Mugabe to commerce

THEKISO ANTHONY LEFIFI

ZIMBABWEAN President Robert Mugabe spent much of his state visit this week in South Africa to strengthen links with its struggling neighbour.


Mugabe deferred to President Jacob Zuma as the more advanced "elder brother", re the economic imbalance b the countries. Bilateral tr talled R26.8-billion last y this is heavily skewed. Africa exported R24.6



Attack alarms

70 armed men at Sibanye Gold's gold plant on Friday night last

HSBC hit with bail order



IN AN unprecedented move, banking giant HSBC has been ordered to pay à1- billion (R12.7-billion) in bail after being cha

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